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## The Ironic Effects of Perspective-Taking on Reactions toward Illegal Immigrants

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The Ironic Effects of Perspective-Taking on Reactions toward Illegal Immigrants

A Thesis Presented

by

LEVI Y. ADELMAN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
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Psychology

The Ironic Effects of Perspective-Taking on Reactions toward Illegal Immigrants

A Thesis Presented

By

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THE IRONIC EFFECTS OF PERSPECTIVE-TAKING ON REACTIONS TOWARD  
ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

SEPTEMBER 2014

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Illegal or undocumented immigration is a political hot-button issue in the United States and around the world. This study investigated social psychological factors that influence reactions toward illegal immigrants. Drawing on America's identity as a nation of immigrants and on research showing positive effects of perspective-taking on intergroup relations, this research asks how reminders of one's ingroup history in the U.S. and perspective-taking impact Americans emotional responses to illegal immigrants and their support for pro- and anti-immigration policies. Additionally, this research investigates whether the effects of reminders of one's ingroup history and perspective-taking depend on people's political orientation. Results show that the combination of thinking about one's ingroup history and taking the perspective of illegal immigrants actually leads to more negative reactions toward illegal immigrants. Furthermore, this effect appears to be driven by conservatives as opposed to liberals. These findings raise questions about which public discourses about illegal immigration would create a consensus based on humanitarian ideals, and which discourses would increase polarization. These findings also add to the growing literature on the limitations of perspective-taking as an intervention to reduce prejudice.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the history of the United States, the topic of immigration, and specifically illegal immigration, has been heavily politicized.<sup>1</sup> In the past few years, a number of bills have been proposed that have become law in several states; the political struggle over these bills and subsequent laws highlight tensions between the desire to curb immigration in order to protect national resources and national borders versus the desire to welcome immigration and uphold humanitarian ideals. On the one hand, those desiring to curb immigration have passed legislation such as Arizona's "show me your papers" law, allowing law enforcement officers to demand proof of citizenship from people they suspect of being illegal immigrants. On the other hand, those who are welcoming of immigration have proposed legislation such as the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) act, a federal legislation that offers a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants, proposed in the Senate in 2011. These and other policies are clearly driven by variations in Americans' attitudes toward illegal immigrants.

What factors lead to negative versus positive reactions toward immigrants, particularly illegal or undocumented immigrants? Social psychology can help answer this question and also shed light on the ways in which varying psychological mindsets influence Americans' attitudes, emotional reactions, and policy preferences in relation to illegal immigration. For example, a mindset where one reflects on one's ingroup history of immigration may influence responses toward undocumented immigrants. Similarly, a mindset where one tries to see life through the

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<sup>1</sup> There is significant debate in the U.S. about the proper terminology to use when referring to immigrants who entered the country without government permission. Many of the frequently used terms are seen as promoting partisan beliefs about immigrants (e.g., the terms illegal immigrants, undocumented immigrants, undocumented workers). I interchangeably use "illegal immigrants" and "undocumented immigrants", in this paper. It is nonetheless important to clarify that the use of this description is not intended as a political statement.

eyes of an undocumented immigrant may also influence reactions toward undocumented immigrants. These types of questions have not been examined in the social psychological literature. Therefore, the goal of this research is to use social psychological theories to identify and empirically test the impact of specific mindsets on Americans' attitudes toward illegal immigration and policy preferences.

When thinking about Americans' attitudes toward illegal immigrants it is important to consider the variability of attitudes as a function of the demographic diversity of individuals whose attitudes are sought. Past social psychological research on Americans' attitudes toward immigration has not differentiated between different subgroups of Americans, or has specifically focused on White Americans' attitudes and policy preferences regarding immigration (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Zarate & Quezada, 2012). It is not self-evident that minority groups' attitudes toward illegal immigration will be similar to that of the majority group because specific ethnic and racial groups that make up American society may respond very differently as a function of their position in society and immigration history. The rapid demographic change in the U.S. means that political attitudes and policy preferences are less likely to be driven by one single ethnic or racial group, which increases the need to understand how majority as well as minority groups respond to illegal immigrants. This is an important goal of the present research.

My Master's thesis addresses four research questions. First, do reflections on the history and struggles of one's own group affect attitudes, emotions, and policy preferences regarding illegal immigrants, a group that also experiences struggles? Second, does engagement in perspective-taking influence attitudes, emotions, and policy preferences regarding illegal immigrants? Third, does the impact of reflecting on one's ingroup history and engaging in

perspective-taking change depending whether one is politically liberal versus conservative?

Finally, do majority and minority groups react similarly or differently in terms of their reactions toward illegal immigrants?

### **Varying Mindsets Regarding Immigration**

**Reminders of Ingroup History as a Mindset.** The U.S. prides itself on being a nation of immigrants. In fact, the Statue of Liberty, one of the most prominent American symbols, is inscribed with a message of welcome to incoming immigrants. Given the centrality of immigration in American history and the fact that most groups that came to the U.S. (through immigration or slavery) experienced hardship of varying degrees, it is possible that reminding individuals of their ingroup's immigration history and making them reflect on it may increase a sense of perceived similarity with recent illegal immigrants and in turn increase positive reactions toward this group. It is also possible that the ingroup history reminder might impact individuals differently as a function of their group membership. For Asian Americans and African Americans, ingroup histories of immigration or slavery and resulting stigma are likely to be chronically salient. If so, a temporary reminder of their groups' history may not produce any additional effect on reactions toward illegal immigrants. In contrast, for White Americans who typically do not often think of themselves as immigrants, reminders of their ingroup's history in the U.S. may increase positive reactions toward illegal immigrants because of greater perceived similarity. *I therefore tested whether reminding Americans of their racial ingroup's history in the U.S. has any effect on their attitudes, emotional reactions, and policy preferences in relation to illegal immigrants. I also tested if the effect of such a reminder depends on the type of group to which individuals belong.*

**Perspective-taking as a Mindset.** One mindset that is often used to reduce prejudice and improve attitudes between groups is perspective-taking. Perspective-taking suggests that “stepping in another’s shoes” or looking at the world from another person’s perspective is an important route to prejudice reduction. In a series of studies, Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) showed that inducing perspective-taking reduced stereotyping and prejudice toward the elderly and toward African Americans. They suggest that this occurs by increasing perceived similarity between the self (the participant) and the other person or group whose perspective is being taken. Relatedly, perspective-taking increases empathy and helping by increasing the self-other overlap regardless of one’s group membership (Batson et al., 1997). Other research shows perspective-taking has a more positive effect on attitudes toward outgroups among perceivers who have high self-esteem (Galinsky & Ku, 2004). Collectively, this research suggests that perspective-taking is likely to be a useful strategy for generating a self-other overlap between diverse groups and thus increasing positive reactions toward outgroup members.

However, a growing literature suggests that perspective-taking may not have uniformly positive effects on intergroup relations. Epley and Caruso (2008) discuss a number of potential barriers to successful perspective-taking. Of particular relevance to the present research, they point out that perspective-taking may fail to have a positive impact if the perspective-taker is incapable of moving far enough away from their egocentric world-view. Furthermore, they suggest that perspective-taking may fail if the perspective-taker draws on inaccurate or biased information that they have about the person or group whose perspective they are trying to take (Epley & Caruso, 2008). There is also empirical evidence that engaging in perspective-taking can lead to negative intergroup effects when the perspective-taking occurs as part of an intergroup interaction. Vorauer, Martens, and Sasaki (2009) found that lower-prejudice

individuals treated an outgroup member less positively after having engaged in perspective-taking. Further research by Vorauer and Sasaki (2009) finds that perspective-taking has an ironic effect of leading to increased outgroup derogation in the context of an intergroup interaction. In their experiment, participants were either told that they would be discussing a video about First Nations Canadians (Native Canadians) with a White individual or a First Nations individual. They were also assigned to engage in perspective-taking while they watched the video, or to remain objective. The researchers found that when participants were expecting to interact with an ingroup (White) individual, perspective-taking decreased prejudice toward First Nations people compared to remaining objective. However, when participants were expecting to interact with a First Nations individual, perspective-taking *increased* prejudice compared to remaining objective (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009). Collectively, it is unclear from past research whether perspective-taking will have a positive or negative effect on attitudes, emotions, and policy support responses toward an outgroup.

Applying the perspective-taking findings to my research on immigration attitudes, *my research sought to test whether putting people in the mindset where they imagine “walking in the shoes” of illegal immigrants via perspective-taking will have any effect on American perceivers attitudes and emotions toward illegal immigrants as well as their support for immigration policies.*

**The Joint Effect of Ingroup History and Perspective-taking Mindsets.** The effect of a perspective-taking mindset may depend on whether or not one is already thinking of one's ingroup history. Specifically, in the context of undocumented immigrants, it may be necessary for Americans to first enter into a mindset of reflecting on their ingroup history – including their ingroup's immigration history – for them to truly be able to recognize the similarity between

themselves and undocumented immigrants. Thus, the success of taking the perspective of illegal immigrants may depend on thinking of one's ingroup history. Alternatively, if perspective-taking has a negative effect on intergroup attitudes and reactions (Epley & Caruso, 2008; Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009) it may lead people to focus on the differences between their ingroup history and the experiences of illegal immigrant. This combination of an ingroup history mindset and a perspective-taking mindset may therefore have a negative effect on intergroup attitudes. *I therefore tested whether taking the perspective of illegal immigrants leads to different outcomes depending on whether one first reflected on the history of their ingroup or not.*

### **Effect of Political Orientation on Reactions toward Immigrants**

Another crucial factor that influences variability in Americans' views of illegal immigration is individuals' political orientation. Both within the U.S. and around the world, attitudes toward illegal immigrations are often clearly split along political lines, with liberals showing pro-immigration tendencies and conservatives showing anti-immigration tendencies. From a motivational perspective, these differences in immigration attitudes due to political orientation may map onto differences in people's motivation to approach desired outcomes compared to their motivations to avoid undesirable outcomes. Recent research by Janoff-Bulman and colleagues (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Baldacci, 2008; Janoff-Bulman, 2009) suggests that whereas liberals are more motivated to engage in approach behaviors, conservatives are more motivated to engage in avoidance behaviors. Liberals engage in approach motivation in the pursuit of social justice and social gains, while conservatives engage in avoidance motivation in the pursuit of social order and to avoid negative outcomes. In the context of illegal immigration, an approach motivation might involve perceiving illegal immigrants as helping the American

economy (social gain) and illegal immigrants as needing humanitarian aid (social justice). In contrast, the avoidance motivation might involve preventing Americans' economic resources from being used by illegal immigrants (avoiding negative outcomes) and preserving the cultural status quo (social order). Based on the above theorizing, I predict that while liberals will be approach oriented—characterized by positive attitudes and emotions toward illegal immigrants and supportive of pro-immigration policies, conservatives will be avoidance oriented—characterized by negative attitudes and emotions toward illegal immigrants and less supportive for pro-immigration policies.

Furthermore, it may be that perceivers' political orientation (and accompanying motivations) will change the way in which they react to an ingroup history mindset or a perspective-taking mindset. If conservatives are avoidance focused, reflecting on their ingroup history may highlight the *difference between themselves and illegal immigrants*. Such accentuated intergroup difference may lead to more negative reactions toward illegal immigrants. If liberals are approach focused, reflecting on their ingroup history may, relatively speaking, highlight the *similarity between themselves and illegal immigrants*. This intergroup similarity may lead to less negative reactions toward illegal immigrants. Similarly, if conservatives are avoidance focused, taking the perspective of illegal immigrants may highlight the threats posed by illegal immigrants entering the country. On the other hand, if liberals are approach focused, taking the perspective of illegal immigrants may highlight the social gains possible with illegal immigrants. *Therefore, I tested whether political orientation impacts how ingroup history and perspective-taking mindsets affect attitudes, emotions, and policy support regarding illegal immigrants.*

### **Majority-Minority Reactions toward Immigration**

Until recently, social psychology has focused on the majority group's (White Americans') perception of minority groups in research on intergroup relations (Shelton, 2000). For example, in terms of immigration attitudes, past research has examined White Americans' attitudes toward illegal immigrants and found those attitudes to be quite negative (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Hood & Morris, 1998; Lee, Ottati, & Hussein, 2001). This initial focus was understandable because majority group members' attitudes clearly have a great deal of influence on intergroup relations because of their political and socioeconomic power in society. However, while this has been useful in the past, the increasing number and collective influence of minorities in the U.S. today requires greater attention to minority groups' attitudes and policy preferences in contemporary research. So for example, while it is clear that we would expect the White majority to show prejudice toward illegal immigrants (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Hood & Morris, 1998; Lee, Ottati, & Hussein, 2001), the literature is less clear on how American minority groups might respond toward another minority, such as illegal immigrants.

There are two leading predictions for how minority groups might relate to each other. The first draws on the shared victimhood of minority groups. Because many American minority groups have histories of being stigmatized, they may find similarity in the suffering of other minority groups (e.g. illegal immigrants in the US) and feel empathy for them. This hypothesis draws on psychological theories of perceived similarity that are known to increase positive attitudes (see Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999 for a review). Additionally, this hypothesis is supported by research suggesting that victimized groups sometimes respond with more prosocial attitudes toward other stigmatized groups, termed "shared victimhood" or "altruism born of suffering" (Staub & Vollhardt, 2008; Vollhardt, 2009). The alternative hypothesis is that minority groups might view other minority groups as threatening their access to scarce resources



(Kaufmann, 2007; Sherif, 1966; Zarate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004), threatening ingroup distinctiveness (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999), or threatening their status as a victimized group which is often termed “competitive victimhood” (Noor et al., 2008), all of which suggest that American minority groups might have negative attitudes toward another incoming minority group (e.g., illegal immigrants). *To examine these competing predictions, I tested the following research questions: How do various minority groups’ attitudes and reactions toward illegal immigrants compare to those of the majority group? To what extent are these attitudes and reactions influenced by shared victimhood or competitive victimhood?*

### **Inter-minority Reactions toward Immigration**

While many minority groups may share common experiences of stigma within the larger society, not all experiences of stigma are alike. As such, minority groups might vary in their reactions to another stigmatized minority as a function of their own unique experiences. In his research on educational outcomes for different racial groups, John Ogbu (1978) identified two distinct types of minority groups, categorized by their immigration histories. He draws a distinction between involuntary minority groups that were enslaved or colonized into a minority position in a society, which he refers to as “caste-like minority groups” (e.g., African Americans who were enslaved into minority status in the U.S.) compared to voluntary minority groups, which are groups that voluntarily chose to enter a society as members of a minority racial group (e.g., Asian Americans who entered the U.S. predominantly as voluntary immigrants).<sup>2</sup> In light of these distinctions, and their particular relevance to immigration, it is an open question as to

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to acknowledge that not all members of either group, African Americans and Asian Americans, necessarily fit this generalized description. Some African Americans are children of African or Caribbean immigrants. Some Asian Americans came to the U.S. as political refugees—making “voluntary” a dubious term. However, despite these variations, by and large, the majority of African Americans are descended from American slavery, while the majority of Asian Americans are voluntary immigrants (non-refugees).

how these different types of groups might vary in their response to a third minority group, for example illegal immigrants, as a function of their unique experiences. There are three competing predictions. First, African Americans might show greater prejudice toward illegal immigrants than Asian Americans do for a few different reasons. It may be that as African Americans have less socioeconomic resources as a group compared to Asian Americans, they may experience greater resource competition when thinking of illegal immigrants. Alternatively, because African Americans as a group have a longer history in the US, they may feel more authentically American than do Asian Americans, and this may motivate them to preserve their ingroup distinctiveness against other groups, such as illegal immigrants. Second, it is possible that both of these minority groups may feel similarly about illegal immigrants relative to White Americans because both groups are treated as minority groups and not accepted as being truly American (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Third, it is possible that all three of these ethnic groups will focus on their overarching American identity and not on their individual differences, and therefore will have similar responses to illegal immigrants.

### **Additional exploratory hypotheses**

A number of other variables might determine the way that different individuals or groups might respond: for example, participants' ethnic and national identity, and feelings of competitive success in relation to illegal immigrants. Some people's bias against illegal immigrants may be driven by their attachment to their ethnic group or national group or perceptions of their ingroup as having been successful as immigrants despite difficult experiences.

### **Summary of the present research**

Five central questions were examined in this research. First, will reminding people of their ingroup history in the United States improve reactions toward illegal immigrants? Second, will taking the perspective of illegal immigrants improve reactions toward illegal immigrants by all Americans regardless of their own ethnic/racial backgrounds? Third, does the combination of reflecting on one's ingroup history plus perspective-taking have a stronger effect on prejudice reduction toward illegal immigrants compared to one mindset alone? Fourth, will individuals' political orientation affect how reflecting on ingroup history and perspective-taking impacts illegal immigration attitudes? Lastly, are there important differences between how majority (White) and minority groups (African and Asian Americans) respond to another minority group (illegal immigrants), in terms of their attitudes, emotional reactions, and preferences for immigration policies?

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### **Participants**

Participants ( $N = 517$ ) were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), which is an online crowdsourcing system.<sup>3</sup> One hundred and eighty four participants were White (35.6%), 180 were Black (34.8%), and 153 were Asian (29.6%). All participants were U.S. citizens. Participant age ranged from 18 to 75 ( $M = 32.84$ ,  $SD = 11.89$ ). Two hundred ninety nine participants were female (57.8%), 202 were male (39.1%), and one participant identified as "other" (.2%). Participants came from a range of educational backgrounds: 52 (10.3%) had high-school diplomas or less, 203 (40.4%) had Associate's degrees or some college education, 169 (33.6%) had Bachelor's degrees, 63 (12.6%) had some graduate courses or a Master's degree, and 16 (3.2%) had professional or doctoral degrees. In all, this sample was remarkably heterogeneous in terms of race, age, and education, and reasonably balanced in gender.

#### **Procedure**

Participants were recruited on MTurk for a study entitled "Getting to know you in a diverse America." I used a two-item prescreening survey to identify American citizens who were White, Black, or Asian. The prescreen survey asked participants to report their race and citizenship. Participants who were eligible for the study were directed to the real experiment.

At the beginning of the experiment participants were randomly assigned to either reflect on the history of their racial/ethnic group in the U.S. (history salience condition) or reflect on the

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<sup>3</sup> A total of 613 participants completed the study but after data cleaning the number was reduced to 517. These 96 participants had either requested that their data not be used (5), had participated in the study multiple times from the same IP address (7), had not followed instructions when writing for the History Salience manipulation (24), had not followed instructions when writing for the perspective-taking manipulation (39 – nine of whom had also failed the History Salience manipulation) or had themselves immigrated to the U.S. when they were older than five (30).

geography of their state (control condition). Details of this manipulation are provided in the “Manipulated Independent Variables” section below. After they completed the history salience manipulation participants were again randomly assigned to either take the perspective of illegal immigrants (perspective-taking condition) or to remain objective (objective condition)—see below for details. Thus, the two independent variables in this study—history salience and perspective-taking—were orthogonally manipulated. All participants then completed the perspective-taking manipulation check and a measure assessing their perceived similarity with illegal immigrants.

After the manipulated independent variables had been introduced, participants completed the primary dependent variables (attitudes, emotions, public policy preference) followed by a set of secondary dependent variables (stereotypes, perceived threat, competitive victimhood, and shared victimhood). The order of these sets of measures was counterbalanced between participants. Next, participants completed several individual difference measures including political orientation, ethnic identification, their family and ingroup’s immigration histories, and demographics. Finally, participants were debriefed and paid \$1.00 for their time.

### **Manipulated independent variables.**

***History salience manipulation.*** I primed participants either to reflect on, and write about, their ingroup’s immigration history in the United States, or to reflect on and write about the geography of their state. These served as the history salience condition and control condition respectively. Participants were given four minutes to write down their reflection in a couple of short paragraphs. In the history salience condition participants were told: “Please take a moment to think and write about the history of your ethnic/racial group. For example, what is the history of your racial group (European American, African American, Asian Americans, etc.)? How did

your people survive and make it through past generations to the modern day? Think about your group's recent past as well as its history from many generations ago. Once you have your group's story vividly in mind, please write about it from your perspective. You will have FOUR MINUTES to write until the survey automatically advances you to the next page. Don't worry about getting all the dates and details exactly right. We are interested in YOUR reflections about your group's history rather than historical accuracy. When you are ready, continue to the next page."

The control condition was designed to have the same type of language as the history salience condition, while maintaining neutral content. Specifically, participants were told: "Please take a moment to think and write about the geography of your state or the state you are most familiar with. For example, how is the climate of your state? What is the landscape and natural environment like in your state? Once you have your state's geography vividly in mind, please write about it from your perspective. You will have FOUR MINUTES until the survey automatically advances you to the next page. Don't worry about getting all of the details exactly right. We are interested in YOUR reflections about your state's geography rather than factual accuracy. When you are ready, continue to the next page."

***Perspective-taking manipulation.*** I manipulated perspective-taking by instructing participants to either take the perspective of illegal immigrants or to remain objective while thinking of illegal immigrants. I based the wording of these manipulations on previous research by Galinsky, Wang, and Ku (2008). The purpose of this writing task was to either get participants to mentally "walk in the shoes" of an illegal immigrant (perspective-taking condition), or to ensure that participants would engage in a similar task while remaining emotionally detached (objective condition). In both conditions, participants first read the

following: “You will now see a series of pictures of individuals who are illegal immigrants in the United States. For now take a look at these pictures carefully and try to imagine their lives and experiences. We will ask you more detailed questions in a moment.” Participants then saw a series of four images of illegal immigrants culled from the internet followed by a final image of a group of illegal immigrants with one individual circled in red (see Appendix D). Participants in the perspective-taking condition were then told: “Now please look at the individual **circled in red. Imagine you are in this person’s shoes and living his life. What would you feel like?**

What would be your (and his) thoughts, motivations, and emotions as you made your way through life in the United States? What brought you (him) to the U.S.? **Try to imagine his experiences and mentally walk in his shoes.** Visualize your (his) life as vividly as you can.

Experience the emotions you would feel. When you feel you are ready, please move to the next page and write about your (his) experiences. You will have **FOUR MINUTES** to write until the survey automatically advances you to the next page.” Those in the objective condition were told: “Now please look at the individual circled in red. **Take an objective approach and describe this person’s life. Try to remain detached in your description.** Once you have an idea of what you are going to write, please move to the next page and write about him. Once there, you will have **FOUR MINUTES** to write until the survey automatically advances you to the next page.”

***Manipulation check of perspective-taking.*** Three items formed a manipulation check of perspective-taking: “Can you understand the perspective of an illegal immigrant?” “Can you imagine walking in the shoes of an illegal immigrant?” and “Can you imagine what it feels like to be an illegal immigrant?”

**Primary dependent variables.**

**Attitudes.** Two feeling thermometers measured attitudes toward illegal immigrants. The feeling thermometers asked participants how warm or cold they felt toward their own group and toward illegal immigrants on 0 (cold or unfavorable) to 100 (warm or favorable) scales.

**Emotions.** I measured emotional reactions toward illegal immigrants using 21 emotion items clustered around 6 specific emotions. Participants were asked to indicate how much they felt each emotion on a 7-point response scale where 1 indicated “not at all” and 7 indicated “completely.” Five items measured empathy toward illegal immigrants; items included empathy, sympathy, understanding, warmth, and compassion. Six items measured anger toward illegal immigrants; items included anger, contempt, annoyance, outrage, despise and disdain. Three items measured fear toward illegal immigrants; items included afraid, scared, and frightened. Three items measured disgust toward illegal immigrants; items included disgusted, repulsed, and grossed out. Three items measured anxiety about illegal immigrants; items included anxious, worried, and distressed. Finally, one item measured the extent to which participants felt guilty about illegal immigrants.

**Public policy support.** I measured participants’ behavioral intentions toward illegal immigrants by asking them to indicate their support or opposition to a series of public policies related to immigration. Participants were presented with five policy proposals (some real, others fictitious) and asked to indicate whether they would vote in favor of or against each proposal. Three of the policies would have negative effects on illegal immigrants and two would have positive effects. The negative immigration policies included: (1) increasing border security patrol (similar to one proposed in Congress); (2) requiring proof of citizenship before hospital admission; (3) the “show me your papers” act, whereby law enforcement officers had the right to demand proof of citizenship from anyone they suspect of being an illegal immigrant (based on



real legislation passed in Arizona); (4) the “Dream act” offering a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants currently in the U.S. after they have paid penalties and back taxes; and (5) making available welfare and other social benefits to those who need it regardless of immigration status. Participants indicated their voting preference for each policy using 7-point response scales in which 1 signified that the participants were “likely to vote against” the policy, and 7 signified that they were “likely to vote in favor of” the policy. See Appendix I for the complete wording of this measure.

### **Secondary measures.**

***Perceived threat.*** I measured whether participants perceived illegal immigration as posing a realistic threat to the U.S. using 3 items adapted from Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999). These items were, “To what extent do you think illegal immigrants are impacting crime in America?” “To what extent do you think illegal immigrants are impacting job losses in America?” and “To what extent do you think illegal immigrants are impacting the availability of social services in America?” Responses to this scale ranged 1 to 7 with higher numbers signifying more perceived threat.

I also measured whether illegal immigrants posed a symbolic threat to the values of the U.S. using the following 3 items: “How do you think illegal immigrants are affecting American culture?” “How do you think illegal immigrants are affecting American way of life?” and “How do you think illegal immigrants are affecting American moral values?” Participants responded to these items using a 7-point scale ranging from -3 to +3 in which negative numbers signified a negative effect, and positive numbers signified a positive effect.

***Perceived similarity.*** Two items measured the degree to which participants saw themselves as similar to illegal immigrants. The first asked, “How similar are you to the person

you wrote about?”, and participants responded using a 7-point scale where 1 was “not at all” and 7 was “very much”. The second asked participants to identify how similar they felt to the illegal immigrants they saw in the pictures using a Venn diagram adapted from the Inclusion of the Other in the Self (IOS) scale from Aron, Aron, and Smollan (1992). This consisted of five overlapping circles representing how much participants see themselves as being similar to or different from illegal immigrants. See Appendix E for complete measures.

***Shared victimhood.*** I measured the extent to which participants’ perception of ingroup hardship impacted their reactions to illegal immigrants using three items: “My group’s experiences make me better able to empathize with the suffering of illegal immigrants;” “My group’s experiences make me better able to understand the perspective of illegal immigrants;” and “My group’s experiences allow me to realize what it must feel like to be an illegal immigrant.”

***Competitive victimhood.*** Four items were used to measure the extent to which participants competitively compared illegal immigrants’ suffering with that of their own group. These items included, “Think about your ethnic/racial group’s SUFFERING compared to other groups. Do you think that your group has suffered less than, as much as, or more than illegal immigrants?” “Think about your ethnic/racial group’s experiences of HARSHIP compared to other groups. Do you think that your group experienced less hardship, as much hardship, or more hardship than other groups?” “Think about how much your ethnic/racial group has been the TARGET OF PREJUDICE compared to other groups. Do you think that your group experienced less prejudice, as much prejudice, or more prejudice than other groups?” and “Think about your ethnic/racial group was VICTIMIZED compared to other groups. Do you think that your group was less victimized, victimized as much, or more victimized, than other groups?”

***Stereotypes.*** I measured stereotypes about illegal immigrants using 10 semantic differential items adapted from Cowan, Martinez, and Mendiola (1997). Participants were asked to evaluate illegal immigrants on 7-point scales anchored by labels of opposing valence: lazy—hardworking, dishonest—honest, selfish—cares for others, burden on society—contributes to society, cowardly—courageous, dirty—clean, disease-ridden—healthy, incompetent—competent, criminal—law-abiding, irresponsible—responsible.

**Individual measures.**

***Political orientation.*** Participants' political orientation was assessed using four items. One item asked participants to self-report their general political orientation ranging from “very liberal” (1) to “very conservative” (7). Three more items asked participants to report their political orientation on social issues, foreign policy, and economic issues. All items used a 7-point scale in which 1 signified being “very liberal” and 7 signified being “very conservative.”

***National attachment and glorification.*** Eight items adapted from Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan (2006) formed the national attachment and ingroup glorification scales. The attachment scale comprised 4 items asking for participants' agreement or disagreement with statements including “It is important to me that others see me as an American,” “Belonging to this group is an important part of my identity,” “It is important to me that I view myself as an American,” and “When I talk about the group members, I usually say ‘we’ rather than ‘they.’” Ingroup glorification was measured using 4 items asking for participant agreement with the following statements: “America is better than other nations in all respects,” “Relative to other nations, we are a very moral nation,” “Compared to other nations, America is particularly good,” and “Other nations can learn a lot from us.”

***Ethnic identity.*** I measured participants' ethnic identity with the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) in which participants identified their specific ethnicity and responded to 12 statements about ethnic identity (e.g. "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group"; see Appendix L for complete measure).

***Ethnic and family immigration.*** I measured the extent to which participant's perceived their ethnic group and family as having a history of immigration using 4 items. These items were "When you think about your ethnic group, how much do you see them as having a history of immigration in the US?" "When you think about your family, how much do you see them as having a history of immigration in the US?" "When you think of your ethnic group's immigration history, to what extent is that history similar to or different from the experiences of illegal immigrants?" and "Briefly list the ways in which you see your ethnic group's history or family history as being similar to or different from the experience of illegal immigrants."

***Demographics.*** I also measured a series of general demographics including participants' age, gender, primary language and immigration history. Two items also measured participants' education and current occupation. The education measure consisted of a multiple-choice item, and the occupation measure consisted of a free-writing space for participants to describe their occupation.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESULTS

#### **Manipulation Checks and Content Analysis**

To ensure that participants were equally engaged in the writing tasks regardless of which combination of instructions they had been given, I tested whether history salience and perspective-taking had any effect on the amount that participants wrote in response to each independent variable. Results showed that the 2-way interaction was non-significant,  $F(1, 513) = 1.67, p = .197$ , which shows that participants were equally engaged in the writing tasks regardless of which instructions they received.

To test whether or not participants followed the writing instructions they were given, I coded participants' history salience writings for mentions of immigration. As expected, I found that in the history salience condition 74% of participants mentioned immigration whereas in the control condition only .4% mentioned immigration. For the perspective-taking condition, I coded whether participants used first person pronouns in their writings (which would signify that they were taking the perspective of the illegal immigrant as they were asked) or whether they used the third person. I found that 84.9% in the perspective-taking condition wrote in the first person, while only 8.3% in the objective condition wrote in the first person.

Further content analyses of participants' writing showed that the vast majority of participants expressed sympathy in the perspective-taking writings (86.1%). Another 7.4% presented arguments for why the target individual had no choice. Very few participants engaged in counter-arguing against the decision by the target individual to come into the U.S., with only 1.5% saying that he should not have come. The majority of participants (91.1%) did not counter-argue in either direction. Only 3.5% of participants suggested that the illegal immigrant was

coming to harm the U.S.; 1.4% said he would use the system to benefit him; but the vast majority (95.2%) made no mention of immigrants' impact on the U.S. system.

The perspective-taking manipulation check (3 items,  $\alpha = .89$ ) revealed that those who were asked to take the perspective of illegal immigrants reported being able to take the perspective of others significantly more ( $M = 3.72$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ) than those who were asked to remain objective ( $M = 3.33$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ),  $t(506) = 4.19$ ,  $p < .001$ . In sum, the results of the manipulation check and the content analysis suggest that participants engaged in the manipulations as directed.

### **The Effect of History Salience and Perspective-taking on Attitudes and Emotions Toward Illegal Immigrants**

Five primary research questions were at the center of this study. First, when people are placed in the mindset of reflecting on their ingroup's immigration history in the United States does that experience reduce negative reactions toward illegal immigrants compared to a control mindset? Second, when people are asked to take the perspective of illegal immigrants does that other-focused mindset decrease negative reactions toward illegal immigrants compared to the absence of perspective-taking? Third, does the combination of reflecting on one's ingroup history plus perspective-taking have a stronger effect on reducing negative reactions toward illegal immigrants compared to only one mindset alone? Fourth, does participants' political orientation moderate the effect of a history salience mindset and a perspective-taking mindset on their reactions toward illegal immigrants? Finally, does participants' racial group membership moderate the effect of history salience and perspective-taking mindsets?

I tested the first three research questions using a series of Analysis of Variance tests (ANOVAs) with 2 (history salience condition, control condition) x 2 (perspective-taking

condition, objective condition) as between-participant factors. These are presented first. Subsequently, I conducted another series of ANOVAs using participants' political orientation and race as moderating variables. These are presented later.

The results were fairly consistent across most dependent variables (specific emotions and support for specific public policies). To preview, the main effects of history salience were consistently nonsignificant indicating that being reminded of one's ingroup history, by itself, did not have any effect on participants' emotions toward illegal immigrants or policy preferences compared to the absence of such a reminder. Similarly, the main effects of perspective-taking were also consistently nonsignificant, suggesting that taking the perspective of illegal immigrants alone did not improve reactions toward illegal immigrants when compared to the absence of perspective-taking. However, the two-way interactions between history salience and perspective-taking were consistently significant or marginally significant indicating that reflecting on one's ingroup history followed by instructions to take the perspective of illegal immigrants had *negative effects* on people's emotional reactions toward illegal immigrants and public policy preferences. These results are unpacked below for each dependent variable.

**Anger.** As previewed above, a significant 2-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking,  $F(1, 476) = 4.34, p = .038, \eta_p^2 = .009$ , indicated that being reminded of the history of one's ingroup followed by perspective-taking produced significantly more anger ( $M = 2.55, SD = 1.54$ ) than when the ingroup history reminder was *not* followed by perspective-taking ( $M = 2.17, SD = 1.39$ ),  $t(238) = 2.00, p = .047$ . When people were not reminded about their ingroup's history, perspective-taking alone had no effect on anger toward illegal immigrants ( $M = 2.14, SD = 1.28$ ) compared to the absence of perspective-taking ( $M = 2.31, SD = 1.54$ ),  $t(238)$

= -.93,  $p = .353$ ; see Figure 1. The main effects of History Salience,  $t(478) = 1.02$ ,  $p = .307$ , and Perspective-taking,  $t(478) = .78$ ,  $p = .436$  were nonsignificant.

**Disgust.** Once again, there was a significant 2-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking,  $F(1, 492) = 3.92$ ,  $p = .048$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .008$ , such that when people were reminded of their ingroup history followed by perspective-taking, they showed significantly more disgust ( $M = 2.01$ ,  $SD = 1.52$ ) than when they engaged in perspective-taking without first having been primed by their ingroup history ( $M = 1.59$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ;  $t(238) = 2.50$ ,  $p = .013$ ). However, being primed with one's ingroup history without engaging in perspective-taking ( $M = 1.77$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ) did not produce any more disgust than not being primed with one's ingroup history and similarly not engaging in perspective-taking ( $M = 1.77$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ;  $t(254) = -.21$ ,  $p = .836$ , see Figure 2). In addition, the 2-way ANOVA revealed a marginal main effect of history salience on disgust,  $t(1, 492) = 2.89$ ,  $p = .09$ , which participants reporting more disgust toward illegal immigrants after having been primed with their group history ( $M = 1.89$ ,  $SD = 1.39$ ) compared to when they were not ( $M = 1.70$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ). However, a t-test analysis of the main effect of history salience found only a distant trend,  $t(494) = -1.63$ ,  $p = .103$ . The main effect of perspective-taking was nonsignificant,  $t(494) = -.12$ ,  $p = .907$ .

**Anxiety.** Similar to the previous two emotions, a marginal 2-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking,  $F(1, 485) = 2.84$ ,  $p = .093$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .006$ , showed that being primed with one's ingroup history followed by perspective-taking produces more anxiety about illegal immigrants ( $M = 2.68$ ,  $SD = 1.39$ ) compared to being primed with one's ingroup history without perspective-taking ( $M = 2.34$ ,  $SD = 1.2$ ;  $t(240) = 2.00$ ,  $p = .046$ ). In contrast, when people were not primed with their ingroup history, there were no differences in anxiety about illegal immigrants regardless of the presence of perspective-taking ( $M = 2.43$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ )



or its absence ( $M = 2.50$ ,  $SD = 1.44$ ;  $t(245) = .42$ ,  $p = .672$ , see Figure 3). The main effects of history salience,  $t(487) = -.35$ ,  $p = .726$ , and perspective-taking,  $t(485) = -1.05$ ,  $p = .296$ , were nonsignificant.

**Empathy.** In terms of empathy, a positive emotion, a marginal 2-way interaction between history Salience and perspective-taking,  $F(1, 479) = 2.96$ ,  $p = .086$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .006$ , revealed a pattern of findings that was the mirror-image of the earlier results. Being reminded of one's ingroup history followed by perspective-taking, led to *less* empathy ( $M = 4.27$ ,  $SD = 1.48$ ) than being reminded of one's ingroup history without perspective-taking ( $M = 4.62$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ;  $t(236) = 1.80$ ,  $p = .074$ ). On the other hand, when there was no reminder of one's ingroup history, taking the perspective of illegal immigrants did not impact empathy ( $M = 4.44$ ,  $SD = 1.4$ ) any differently than not taking their perspective ( $M = 4.33$ ,  $SD = 1.53$ ;  $t(243) = -.62$ ,  $p = .538$ , see Figure 4). Similar to earlier results, the main effects of history salience,  $t(481) = -.53$ ,  $p = .595$ , and perspective-taking,  $t(481) = .84$ ,  $p = .400$ , were nonsignificant.

**Fear and guilt.** Manipulations of history salience and perspective-taking mindsets had no effect on feelings of fear or guilt in relation to illegal immigrants (all  $F$ s  $< 1.98$ ,  $p$ s  $> .160$ ).

### **Public Policies About Illegal Immigration**

**Border patrol.** This item measured people's support vs. opposition to border patrol as an active way of keeping out illegal immigrants. There was a marginal interaction between history salience by perspective-taking,  $F(1, 502) = 2.97$ ,  $p = .085$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .006$ , such that that being reminded of one's ingroup history and then being asked to take the perspective of illegal immigrants produced more support for a punitive border patrol policy ( $M = 4.48$ ,  $SD = 1.93$ ) than being reminded of one's ingroup history without perspective-taking ( $M = 3.95$ ,  $SD = 2.23$ ,  $t(250) = 2.01$ ,  $p = .045$ ). In the absence of the ingroup history reminder, perspective-taking ( $M =$

4.29,  $SD = 2.23$ ) did not produce different levels of support for this policy compared to no perspective-taking ( $M = 4.42$ ,  $SD = 2.23$ ,  $t(252) = .84$ ,  $p = .400$ , see Figure 5). The main effects of history salience,  $t(504) = .77$ ,  $p = .422$ , and perspective-taking,  $t(504) = -1.03$ ,  $p = .305$ , were both nonsignificant,

**“Show me your papers” policy.** This item measured participants’ support for a policy requiring legal immigrants to carry proof of citizenship and giving police officers the power to detain anyone they suspect of being in the country illegally. There was a marginal 2-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking,  $F(1, 502) = 3.00$ ,  $p = .084$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .006$ , which was consistent with the previous findings of a history salience and perspective-taking interaction. Specifically, I found that being primed with one’s ingroup history followed by perspective-taking produced more support for the “show me your papers” act ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ) than being primed with one’s group history without perspective-taking ( $M = 2.99$ ,  $SD = 2.10$ ,  $t(250) = 2.61$ ,  $p = .01$ ). On the other hand, in the absence of a prime involving ingroup history, support for this law did not vary as a function of perspective-taking ( $M = 3.48$ ,  $SD = 2.26$ ) or not ( $M = 3.46$ ,  $SD = 2.30$ ,  $t(252) = 0.08$ ,  $p = .938$ , see Figure 6). There was also a marginally significant main effect of perspective-taking,  $t(504) = 1.84$ ,  $p = .067$ , such that taking illegal immigrants’ perspectives produced more support for this negative policy ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ) than not ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ). The main effect of history salience,  $t(504) = 0.70$ ,  $p = .482$ , was nonsignificant.

**Attitudes.** The two-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking on general attitudes toward illegal immigrants was nonsignificant,  $F(1, 487) = 0.67$ ,  $p = .414$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .001$ . The main effects of history salience,  $t(489) = -0.81$ ,  $p = .416$ , and perspective-taking,  $t(489) = 1.05$ ,  $p = .295$ , were also nonsignificant.

**Summary.** Thus far, my initial hypothesis that history salience and perspective-taking would have positive effects on reactions to illegal immigrants was not confirmed. In fact, there was a clear pattern of findings showing that being primed with one's ingroup history and having to take the perspective of illegal immigrants *increased negative emotions* and *more anti-immigrant policy support* than the absence of these two primes. The next step was to test whether perceivers' political orientation would moderate the effect of history salience and perspective-taking.

### **Political Orientation Moderates the Effect of History Salience and Perspective-taking**

A second goal of this study was to test how individual differences in participants' political orientation would affect their reactions toward illegal immigrants when ingroup history and perspective-taking were made salient. I predicted that conservatives would have more negative reaction to being primed with their ingroup history and then being asked to take the perspective of illegal immigrants compared to liberals. I conducted a series of linear regressions to test this prediction using emotional reactions and policy support as dependent variables. As predicted, political orientation significantly moderated the effect of history salience and Perspective-taking on feelings of anger and support for two public policies reported below. Moderation effects for all other dependent variables were nonsignificant.

**Anger.** The regression revealed a significant 3-way interaction between political orientation, history salience, and perspective-taking predicting how angry participants felt toward illegal immigrants ( $B = .48$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $p = .009$ ,  $R^2 = .013$ ). This interaction effect was disaggregated by separately examining the data for the history salience condition and the control condition and by alternately centering political orientation scores 1 standard deviation above the mean to focus on relatively conservative participants, and 1 standard deviation below the mean

to focus on relatively liberal participants. Conservative participants were strongly affected when they were primed by both history salience and perspective-taking whereas liberal participants were relatively unaffected. Specifically, when conservative participants were first primed with their group history, taking the perspective of illegal immigrants led to more anger than if they had not taken their perspective ( $B = .92, SE = .26, p < .001$ ). In the absence of an ingroup history prime conservative individuals were marginally affected by perspective-taking, such that taking the perspective of illegal immigrants led to less anger than if they had not taken their perspective ( $B = -.42, SE = .24, p = .082$ ). In comparison, liberal participants' expressions of anger were not affected by the perspective-taking manipulation, regardless of whether they had been primed with their ingroup history ( $B = -.05, SE = .25, p = .858$ ) or not ( $B = -.05, SE = .25, p = .844$ , see Figures 7a and 7b).

**“Show me your papers” policy.** Regression analysis also revealed a marginally significant 3-way interaction between history salience, perspective-taking, and political orientation which predicted support for the “show me your papers” policy ( $B = .49, SE = .26, p = .059, R^2 = .006$ ). The 3-way interaction was disaggregated by separately examining liberal and conservative participants in the history salience condition versus the control condition. In the former condition, when conservatives are primed with their ingroup history, having them then engage in perspective-taking led to increased support for this policy compared to when they did not engage in perspective-taking ( $B = 1.24, SE = .37, p = .001$ ). However, conservatives who were not primed with their history did not show any increase in support for this policy when they engaged in perspective-taking compared to when they did not ( $B = -.39, SE = .34, p = .257$ ). For liberal participants, engaging in perspective-taking did not have any effect on support for the “show me your papers” policy, regardless of whether they had been primed with their ingroup

history ( $B = .3$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $p = .40$ ) or not ( $B = .03$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $p = .923$ ). See Figure 8a and Figure 8b for graphs of these effects.

**DREAM Act.** A regression revealed a significant three-way interaction with political orientation, history salience, and perspective-taking predicting support for the positively-valenced “DREAM Act” ( $B = -.44$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $p = .053$ ,  $R^2 = .007$ ). The interaction was disaggregated by separately examining liberal and conservative participants in the history salience condition versus the control condition. When conservative participants were primed with their ingroup history, engaging in perspective-taking led to less support for this policy than not engaging in perspective-taking ( $B = -.69$ ,  $SE = .32$ ,  $p = .032$ ). However, conservative participants who were not primed with their ingroup history do not show any less support for this policy as a result of taking the perspective of an illegal immigrant ( $B = .43$ ,  $SE = .29$ ,  $p = .141$ ). For liberal participants on the other hand, taking the perspective of illegal immigrants has no effect on their support for the DREAM Act, regardless of whether they had first been primed with their ingroup history ( $B = .26$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $p = .398$ ), or not ( $b = .19$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $p = .537$ ). See Figures 9a and 9b.

### **The Effect of Participant Race on how History Salience and Perspective-taking Impact Reactions to Illegal Immigrants**

A third goal of this study was to test how members of different racial groups might vary in their reactions toward illegal immigrants when ingroup history is made salient and when they engaged in perspective-taking. This study investigated three competing predictions of how the different racial groups in this study will respond to illegal immigrants: First, African American participants may have more negative reactions to illegal immigrants than Asian Americans because they do not see themselves as being immigrants – having been predominantly brought to

the U.S. through slavery. Second, perhaps both minority groups will find similarity between their own minority status and the minority status of illegal immigrants and show more positive reaction toward illegal immigrants than the majority group (White Americans). Third, perhaps all three racial groups, both majority and minorities, will focus on their superordinate American identities and have similar reactions to illegal immigrants. To test these competing predictions, I conducted a series of 3-way ANOVAs with a 2 (history salience condition, control condition) x 2 (perspective-taking condition, objective condition) x 3 (White, Black, Asian) design with emotional reactions and policy support as dependent variables. I found that being primed with ingroup history and then taking the perspective of illegal immigrants increased anger, disgust, and fear for Black participants more than Whites or Asians. However, participant race did not moderate the remaining emotion and policy support dependent variables.

**Anger.** There was a significant 3-way interaction between participant race, history salience, and perspective-taking,  $F(2, 468) = 3.48, p = .032, \eta_p^2 = .015$ , in that the negative effect of being primed with the history of one's group followed by perspective-taking was driven more strongly by Black participants ( $F(1, 158) = 6.50, p = .012$ ) compared to Whites,  $F(1, 170) = 3.32, p = .07$ , and Asians,  $F(1, 140) = 1.22, p = .272$ . When Black participants were primed with their ingroup history, they showed more anger when they also engage in perspective-taking ( $M = 2.58, SD = 1.50$ ) than when they did not ( $M = 1.97, SD = 1.36$ ),  $t(82) = 1.94, p = .055$ . On the other hand, when Black participants are not primed with their ingroup history, they showed somewhat less anger when they took the perspective of illegal immigrants ( $M = 1.79, SD = 1.07$ ) compared to not taking their perspective ( $M = 2.30, SD = 1.55$ ),  $t(76) = -1.65, p = .099$ . There was also a marginally significant two-way interaction between participant race and history salience,  $F(2, 468) = 2.66, p = .071$ , such that Asian participants who were primed with their

ingroup history expressed more anger toward illegal immigrants ( $M = 2.56$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ) than those who were not ( $M = 2.05$ ,  $SD = 1.36$ ),  $t(142) = 2.16$ ,  $p = .032$ . White and Black participants did not show different levels of anger regardless of whether they were primed with their ingroup history (White:  $M = 2.27$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ; Black:  $M = 2.58$ ,  $SD = 1.50$ ) or not (White:  $M = 2.49$ ,  $SD = 1.47$ ,  $t(172) = .99$ ,  $p = .324$ ; Black:  $M = 2.06$ ,  $SD = 1.36$ ,  $t(160) = -.93$ ,  $p = .354$ ). All other effects were nonsignificant (all  $F$ s  $< 2.05$ ,  $p$ s  $> .152$ ). See Table 1 for the complete means and  $SD$ s.

**Disgust.** A marginally significant 3-way interaction between participant Race, history salience, and perspective-taking,  $F(2, 484) = 2.78$ ,  $p = .063$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .011$ , revealed that Black participants,  $F(1, 167) = 6.71$ ,  $p = .01$ , showed more disgust after being primed with their ingroup history and taking the perspective of illegal immigrants, whereas Whites,  $F(1, 174) = 2.41$ ,  $p = .123$ , and Asians,  $F(1, 143) = 1.07$ ,  $p = .424$ , did not. Specifically, it showed that Black participants who were primed with the history of their group and took the perspective of illegal immigrants showed more disgust ( $M = 1.91$ ,  $SD = 1.41$ ) than Black participants who were not primed with their ingroup history but similarly engaged in perspective-taking ( $M = 1.28$ ,  $SD = .63$ ),  $t(81) = 2.60$ ,  $p = .011$ . In contrast, Black participants who were primed with their ingroup history but did not engage in perspective-taking ( $M = 1.55$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ) showed the same level of disgust as those who were not primed with their ingroup history and also did not engage in perspective-taking ( $M = 1.88$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ),  $t(86) = 1.19$ ,  $p = .237$ . There was a marginally significant main effect of participant race,  $F(2, 484) = 2.99$ ,  $p = .051$ . A Tukey HSD post hoc comparison revealed that Asian participants showed more disgust toward illegal immigrants ( $M = 2.00$ ,  $SD = 1.31$ ) than Black participants ( $M = 1.66$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ) with White participants ( $M = 1.75$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ) falling in between the two groups and not significantly different than either one.

All other main effects and interactions were nonsignificant (all  $F$ s < 1.63, all  $p$ s > .199). See Table 2 for complete means and  $SD$ s.

**Fear.** There was a significant 3-way interaction between participant race, history salience, and perspective-taking on fear about illegal immigrants,  $F(2, 476) = 3.33, p = .037, \eta_p^2 = .014$ , such that Black participants,  $F(1, 158) = 6.04, p = .015$ , showed more fear when they were primed with their ingroup history followed by perspective-taking while White participants,  $F(1, 174) = .78, p = .379$ , and Asian participants,  $F(1, 144) = 1.41, p = .238$ , did not. Specifically, Black participants who were primed with the history of their group and engaged in perspective-taking were more fearful of illegal immigrants ( $M = 2.39, SD = 1.56$ ) than Black participants who were primed with their ingroup history without engaging in perspective-taking ( $M = 1.73, SD = 1.33$ ),  $t(79) = 2.07, p = .042$ . In contrast, Black participants who were not primed with their ingroup history had similar levels of fear regardless of whether they engaged in perspective-taking ( $M = 1.50, SD = .92$ ) or not ( $M = 1.82, SD = 1.22$ ),  $t(79) = 1.33, p = .187$ . A trending main effect of History Salience,  $t(486) = 1.69, p = .093$ , revealed that being primed with your ingroup history increased fear about illegal immigrants ( $M = 2.02, SD = 1.31$ ) compared to not being primed ( $M = 1.83, SD = 1.19$ ). All other main effects and interactions were nonsignificant (all  $F$ s < 2.32, all  $p$ s > .10). See Table 3 for complete means and  $SD$ s.

**Anxiety.** All main effects and interaction effects involving participant race were nonsignificant (all  $F$ s < 2.32, all  $p$ s > .108).

**Empathy.** All main effects and interaction effects involving participant race were nonsignificant (all  $F$ s < 2.59, all  $p$ s > .108).

**Attitudes.** There was a significant main effect of participant race on attitudes toward illegal immigrants,  $F(1, 479) = 4.66, p = .01$ . A Tukey HSD post hoc test revealed that White



participants ( $M = 51.3$ ,  $SD = 27.7$ ) held significantly less positive attitudes toward illegal immigrants than Black participants ( $M = 60.3$ ,  $SD = 27.3$ ), with Asian participants ( $M = 56.3$ ,  $SD = 25.1$ ) falling in between both groups, non-significantly different from either one. There were also no significant 2-way or 3-way interactions (all  $F_s < 1.35$ ,  $ps > .245$ ).

**Border patrol.** All main effects and interaction effects involving participant race were nonsignificant (all  $F_s < 2.53$ , all  $ps > .111$ ).

**“Show me your papers” policy.** There was a significant main effect of participant race on support for the “show me your papers” policy,  $F(2, 494) = 2.95$ ,  $p = .053$ . A Tukey HSD post hoc test found that White participants ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 2.33$ ) support this law significantly more than Asian participants ( $M = 3.11$ ,  $SD = 2.04$ ), with Black participants ( $M = 3.35$ ,  $SD = 2.24$ ) falling in between both groups and not significant in either direction. All other 2-way and 3-way interactions involving participant race were nonsignificant ( $F_s < 1.55$ ,  $ps > .214$ ).

**DREAM Act.** All main effects and interaction effects involving participant race were nonsignificant (all  $F_s < 1.86$ ,  $ps > .173$ ).

**Hospitalization policy.** All main effects and interaction effects involving participant race were nonsignificant (all  $F_s < 2.25$ , all  $ps > .107$ ).

**Immigrant Assistance.** There was a significant main effect of participant race on support for the immigrant assistance policy which proposes that social benefits such as welfare should be available to all regardless of immigration status,  $F(2, 494) = 2.95$ ,  $p = .053$ . A Tukey HSD post hoc test revealed that White participants ( $M = 3.36$ ,  $SD = 2.25$ ) show significantly less support for this law than both Black ( $M = 4.07$ ,  $SD = 2.10$ ) and Asian participants ( $M = 3.97$ ,  $SD = 2.08$ ). All other main effects and interaction effects involving participant race were nonsignificant (all  $F_s < 1.26$ , all  $ps > .263$ ).

## Secondary Dependent Variables

**Perceived threat.** All main effects and the interaction effects were nonsignificant for both the realistic and symbolic threat measures (all  $F$ s < 1.21, all  $p$ s > .272).

**Perceived similarity.** All main effects and the interaction effects were nonsignificant for both of the similarity items (all  $F$ s < 1.46, all  $p$ s > .226).

**Shared victimhood.** A significant 2-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking,  $F(1, 501) = 3.91, p = .049$ , revealed that being primed with ingroup history led to more shared victimhood when it was not followed by perspective taking ( $M = 4.62, SD = 1.65$ ) than when it was ( $M = 4.11, SD = 1.52, t(250) = 2.54, p = .012$ ). In the absence of an ingroup history prime, the level of shared victimhood was the same regardless of whether one engaged in perspective-taking ( $M = 4.18, SD = 1.74$ ) or not ( $M = 4.11, SD = 1.68, t(251) = .33, p = .739$ ). Neither of the main effects were significant (all  $F$ s < 2.33, all  $p$ s > .135).

**Competitive victimhood.** There was a significant main effect of history salience on competitive victimhood,  $t(504) = 2.40, p = .017$ , such that participants who were primed with their ingroup history saw their group as having suffered more ( $M = 4.10, SD = 1.81$ ) compared to those who were not primed with their ingroup history ( $M = 3.71, SD = 1.92$ ). All of the other main and interaction effects were nonsignificant (all  $F$ s < 2.46, all  $p$ s > .117).

**Stereotypes.** There was a significant main effect of perspective-taking,  $t(492) = 2.28, p = .023$ , such that participants who engaged in perspective-taking stereotyped illegal immigrants more ( $M = 3.45, SD = 1.18$ ) than those who did not take the perspective ( $M = 3.21, SD = 1.25$ ). All other main effects and interaction effects were nonsignificant (all  $F$ s < .26, all  $p$ s > .608).

## Individual Variables

**National attachment and glorification.** The national identity scale was constructed from two subscales of national identity: attachment to the national group and glorification of the national group. These two subscales have been linked to disparate intergroup outcomes in past research (see Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan, 2006). I found that participants were neither strongly nor weakly attached to the U.S. on a 1-7 scale ( $M = 4.78$ ,  $SD = 1.36$ ), and they showed similar average levels of national glorification ( $M = 4.39$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ ). When combined, the two scales had excellent reliability ( $\alpha = .904$ ) and I therefore analyzed the effect of national identity using the combined scale. Results revealed that national identity significantly moderated the effects of history salience and perspective-taking on support for the anti-illegal immigration hospital admittance policy ( $B = .60$ ,  $SE = .30$ ,  $p = .043$ ) and the pro-illegal immigration immigrant assistance policy ( $B = -.71$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $p = .022$ ) such that those who were highly identified as Americans supported the anti-immigration policy less and the pro-immigration policy more after being primed with their ingroup history in the absence of perspective-taking. However, national identity did not significantly affect the impact of History Salience and Perspective-taking on any of the emotions, support for the remaining policies, or attitudes toward illegal immigrants (all  $B$ s  $< .43$ , all  $p$ s  $> .089$ ).

**Ethnic identity.** Participants generally exhibited a relatively low level of ethnic identification on a scale of 1-7 ( $M = 2.88$ ,  $SD = .57$ ) and this did not moderate the effects of history salience and perspective-taking on their emotions, policy support, or attitudes toward illegal immigrants (all  $B$ s  $< 4.60$ , all  $p$ s  $> .109$ ).

**Ethnic and family immigration.** On a 1-7 scale, participants generally reported having a history of immigration in their ingroup ( $M = 4.97$ ,  $SD = 1.99$ ) and family ( $M = 4.34$ ,  $SD = 2.12$ ).

Additionally, participants reported that their history of immigration was somewhat similar to that of illegal immigrants ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 1.89$ ).

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to answer five primary questions: First, will a mindset of reflecting on one's ingroup history in the United States reduce negative reactions toward illegal immigrants compared to a control mindset? Second, will taking the perspective of illegal immigrants decrease negative reactions toward illegal immigrants compared to the absence of perspective-taking? Third, will the combination of a mindset of reflecting on one's ingroup history plus a mindset of perspective-taking have a stronger effect on reducing negative reactions toward illegal immigrants compared to only one mindset alone? Fourth, will participants' political orientation moderate the effect of a history salience mindset and a perspective-taking mindset on their reactions toward illegal immigrants? Finally, will participants' racial group membership moderate the effect of history salience and perspective-taking mindsets?

#### **The impact of ingroup history and perspective-taking on attitudes, emotions, and immigration policy support**

The results of the present study suggest that while perspective-taking may serve to improve intergroup reactions in many contexts, in the present context it has an ironic effect whereby reactions got worse rather than better. Specifically, I found that when Americans were primed with their ingroup history and then engaged in perspective-taking, they showed more negative reactions toward illegal immigrants compared to others who engaged in only one or the other mindset. A key finding is that not only were participants' emotional responses to illegal immigrants negatively affected by the combination of mindsets, but that also their support for immigration policies was negatively affected.

This finding can be better understood in light of past studies and articles on perspective-taking. Galinsky and Moscovitz (2000) found that engaging in perspective-taking decreased prejudice by making participants see the outgroup members as being more similar to themselves. In contrast, the present research found that perspective-taking increased prejudice in cases where the participants had first been primed with their ingroup history. Therefore, it may be that once participants had been primed to think about their ingroup history, taking the perspective of illegal immigrants only served to emphasize the differences between their ingroup and illegal immigrants, and therefore increased rather than decreased prejudice toward illegal immigrants. In line with this reasoning, Epley and Caruso (2008) argue that when people engage in perspective-taking, they start with personal knowledge about their own experiences and then they use that knowledge to understand the perspective of the other person or group. They also provide evidence that when people engage in perspective-taking they are heavily influenced by the first information that comes to mind. Thus, people who are primed with their ingroup history and then asked to take the perspective of illegal immigrants might draw on their ingroup's immigration history first – since it was made salient - and then compare and contrast their ingroup experiences of legal immigration with the illegal immigration experiences of illegal immigrants. This might then lead them to perceive a greater distance between themselves and illegal immigrants and increase their prejudice toward illegal immigrants, which is what emerged in the present study. If the mechanism proposed above is correct, it may be that people who are primed with their ingroup history and then engage in perspective-taking would be more likely to report that whereas their ingroup immigrated to the US the right way, illegal immigrants are immigrating the wrong way. Therefore I have included a measure to test the extent to which participants see their group as having immigrated the “right” way and the extent to which they

see illegal immigrants as having immigrated the “wrong” way in a follow-up study that I am currently running.

### **The role of political orientation in moderating the effect of ingroup history and perspective-taking mindsets**

I also hypothesized that the effects of the ingroup history and perspective-taking mindsets may depend on perceivers’ political orientation. As explained previously, the combination of being put into an ingroup history mindset combined with a perspective-taking mindset could have the ironic effect of highlighting differences between the ingroup and illegal immigrants. Past research suggests that conservatives are avoidance focused and oriented toward protecting their ingroup, whereas liberals are more approach focused and oriented toward social gains and humanitarianism (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Thus, I predicted that conservatives might have a more negative response to being put into an ingroup history mindset followed by a perspective-taking mindset because they are avoidance focused and oriented toward protecting their ingroup from outgroups such as illegal immigrants. Liberals, on the other hand, might focus on the potential social gains that illegal immigrants have to offer or on the humanitarian need of these individuals, and thus might respond positively toward an outgroup such as illegal immigrants. The findings of the present study provided some support for these hypotheses, finding that the ironic effects of perspective-taking appear to be driven by conservative participants responding more negatively to illegal immigrants, whereas the liberal participants were relatively unaffected by ingroup history and perspective-taking mindsets. If indeed the effects of ingroup history and perspective-taking mindsets depend on political orientation, might that be due to the mechanism proposed above? Specifically, is it the case that conservatives are motivated to protect the ingroup and avoid negative outcomes and therefore show negative reactions, while liberals are

motivated toward humanitarianism and to achieve positive social goals and therefore do not show negative reactions, as proposed here? If that is the case, then perspective-taking may have failed to lead to positive attitudes because the perspective-taking manipulation was broad enough for participants to be heavily influenced by perceived threats due to illegal immigrants. If so, would a more structured perspective-taking manipulation that is specifically designed to address those threats to the ingroup while limiting the freedom of participants to rely on their personal biases produce more positive responses from conservatives? Future studies into this area could shed some light onto these questions.

It is also important to note here that political orientation only affected certain types of emotions and policies, not all. This may be partially explained by research showing that prejudice should not be investigated as one singular concept, but that different minority groups are associated with different threats and emotional responses (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). It may be that illegal immigrants arouse certain threats and their corresponding emotional responses, and not others. Additionally, illegal immigrants may pose different threats to different subgroups of Americans. Further research is necessary to identify the threats and emotional responses that different American subgroups have in response to illegal immigrants.

### **Do different racial group respond differently to history salience and perspective-taking mindsets?**

The U.S. is comprised of many diverse ethnic groups with different immigration histories. Therefore, when investigating reactions toward illegal immigrants, this research aimed to test whether members of distinct ethnic groups would have different responses to illegal immigrants after reflecting on their own ingroup history and then taking the perspective of an illegal immigrant. Contrary to my expectations, participant race did not consistently affect



attitudes, emotions, and policy support in relation to illegal immigrants, with or without being put into history salience and perspective-taking mindsets. The only finding that emerged in a few cases was that the ironic effect of history salience and perspective-taking mindsets was stronger for African Americans than White or Asian Americans for anger, fear, and disgust. Specifically, Black participants who were in the joint mindsets of both history salience and perspective-taking showed increased levels of anger, disgust, and fear. One explanation for this unexpected finding is that the status of African Americans as an involuntary or “caste-like” minority (Ogbu, 1978) means that their reflections on their ingroup’s history of involuntary immigration leads to greater perceptions of dissimilarity between themselves and illegal immigrants, which in turn may have been exacerbated by having to perspective-take on the experiences of illegal immigrants. But it is unclear why these negative reactions were limited to only three emotions and did not extend to increasing support for anti-immigration policies. Once again, this may be due to the specific threats and emotional responses that arise for different American subgroups, which is a topic for future research to investigate.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

In sum, the present research has found evidence suggesting that when primed with their ingroup history, people show an ironic effect of perspective-taking, such that taking the perspective of an outgroup member actually leads to less positive and more negative reactions. Furthermore, this study found that these effects appear to be driven by conservatives as opposed to liberals, for whom ingroup history primes and engaging in perspective-taking lead to the greatest negative responses.

A significant limitation is that these findings were not predicted. Therefore, replication is called for to ensure that these findings are valid and stable. An additional limitation to this

finding is that there were far more liberal than conservative participants in this study. An important next step is to replicate these findings with a more evenly divided sample. To achieve this, I am currently running a study where participants were selected to participate based on political orientation.

A surprising finding from this study is that participants' political orientation appeared to have had a greater effect on their reactions toward illegal immigrants than the participants' race or ethnicity. This finding suggests that immigration is perceived more as a national issue than a majority-minority issue in the U.S. It appears to be that political orientation, and the different ideals of what kind of nation the U.S. should be, has a greater effect on attitudes toward illegal immigrants. However, it is important to note that in the present study, White participants were more conservative on average than Black or Asian participants. This correlation between participant race and political orientation may explain why the predicted effects of participant race did not emerge.

Additionally, if the replication also finds that the ironic effect of taking the perspective of illegal immigrants only emerges for conservatives and not liberals, future studies could test the mechanism of this effect. Specifically, the next step would be to include measures of political approach vs. avoidance and test their effect on reactions toward illegal immigrants.

Finally, these results suggest that a more nuanced approach is necessary to understand reactions toward illegal immigrants and to consider interventions that might improve emotional responses, policy support, and attitudes. Crucially, it may be that the American narrative about being a nation of immigrants could be perceived as threatening to the American status quo or threatening American optimal distinctiveness (Leonardelli, Pickett, & Brewer, 2010). This may be especially true for conservatives who are asked to take the perspective of illegal immigrants and sympathize

with them. If it is the case that national discourses based on Americans' histories as immigrants and on taking the perspective of illegal immigrants can lead to greater polarization along political lines, then it will be necessary to investigate other national discourses that would lead to a greater consensus on illegal immigration.

Table 1

*Means table for the 3-way interaction between Participant Race, History Salience, and Perspective-taking on anger toward illegal immigrants.*

Race	History Salience						Control					
	Perspective-taking			Objective			Perspective-taking			Objective		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
White	2.47	1.63	39	2.09	1.39	44	2.26	1.34	43	2.70	1.56	48
Black	2.58	1.50	41	1.97	1.36	43	1.79	1.07	37	2.30	1.55	41
Asian	2.60	1.53	37	2.51	1.39	36	2.32	1.35	39	1.72	1.33	32

Table 2

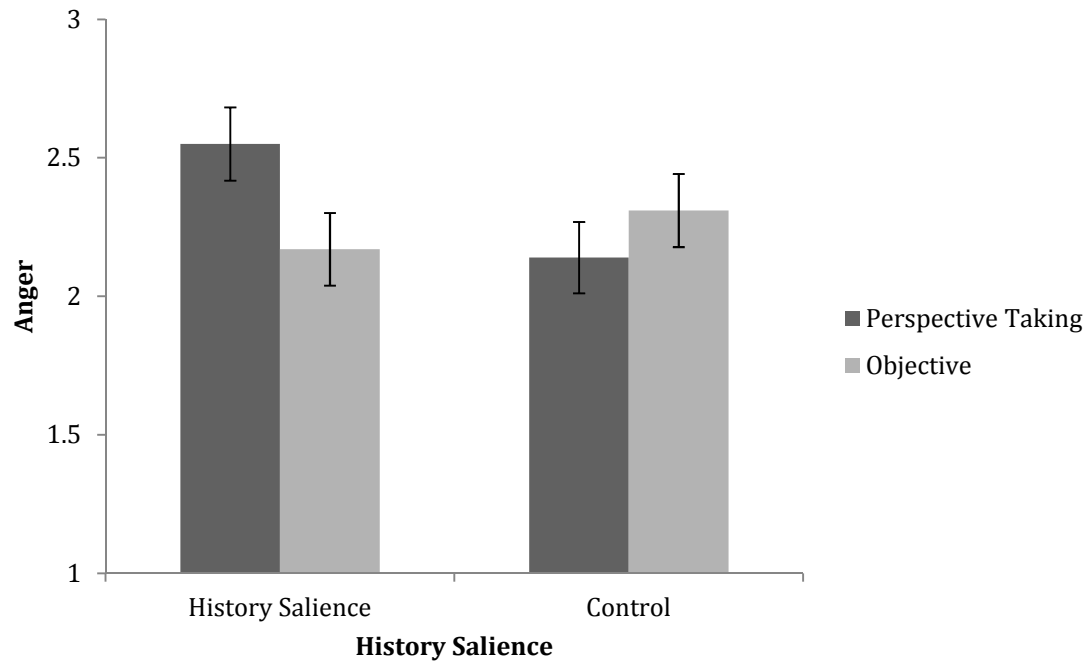
*Means table for the 3-way interaction between Participant Race, History Salience, and Perspective-taking on disgust toward illegal immigrants.*

Race	History Salience						Control					
	Perspective-taking			Objective			Perspective-taking			Objective		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
White	1.86	1.51	40	1.63	1.22	46	1.56	1.11	42	1.92	1.23	50
Black	1.91	1.41	43	1.55	1.23	44	1.28	0.63	40	1.88	1.38	44
Asian	2.28	1.65	37	2.21	1.23	37	1.95	1.21	38	1.53	0.98	35

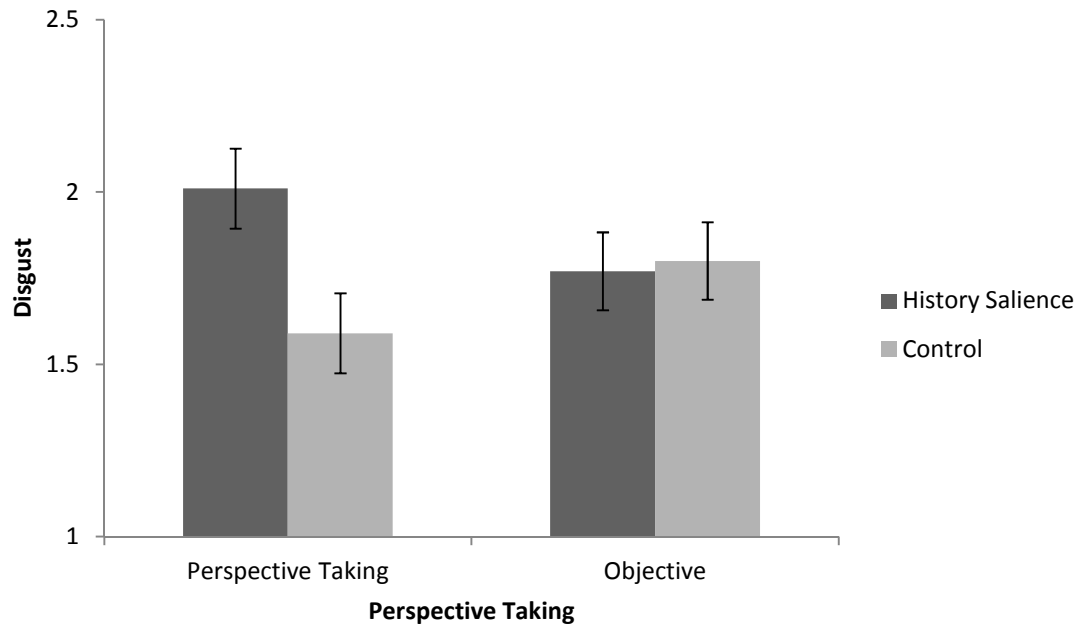
Table 3

*Means table for the 3-way interaction between Participant Race, History Salience, and Perspective-taking on fear about illegal immigrants.*

Race	History Salience						Control					
	Perspective-taking			Objective			Perspective-taking			Objective		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
White	1.96	1.14	41	1.81	1.16	44	1.91	1.25	43	2.09	1.37	50
Black	2.39	1.56	38	1.73	1.33	43	1.50	0.92	39	1.82	1.22	42
Asian	2.10	1.36	37	2.19	1.24	36	1.58	1.12	40	1.53	0.98	35

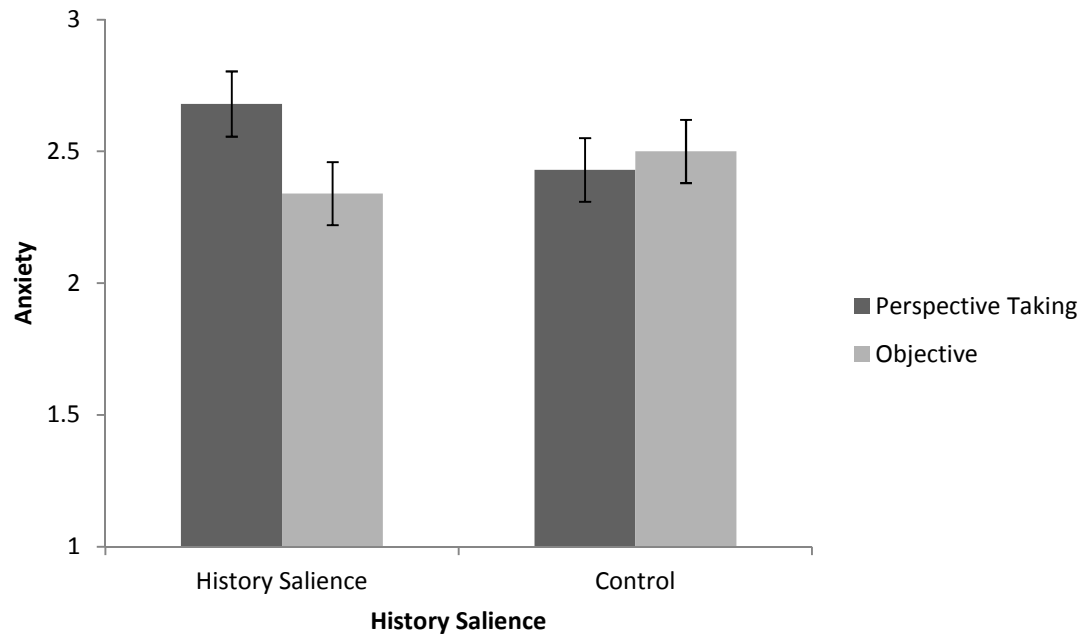


*Figure 1.* A significant two-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking reveals that being primed with one's ingroup history and engaging in perspective-taking leads to more anger compared to participants who were similarly primed with their ingroup history but did not engage in perspective-taking. However, engaging in perspective-taking has no effect in the absence of an ingroup history prime.

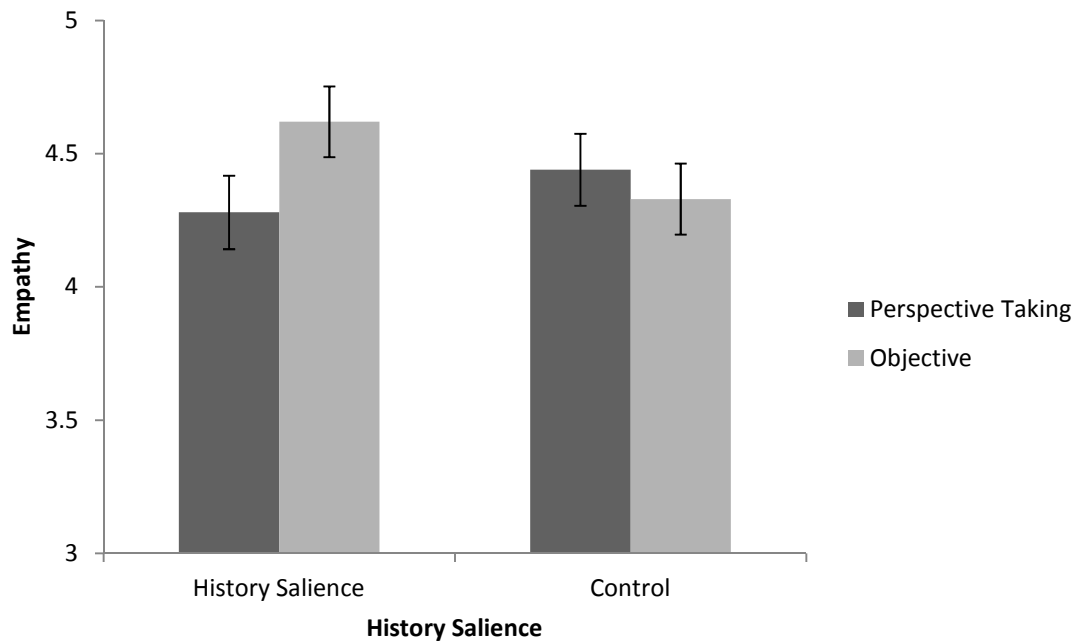


*Figure 2.* A significant two-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking reveals that being primed with one's ingroup history and engaging in perspective-taking leads to more disgust compared to engaging in perspective-taking without having first been primed with ingroup history. However, whether or not ingroup history was primed has no impact in the absence of perspective-taking.

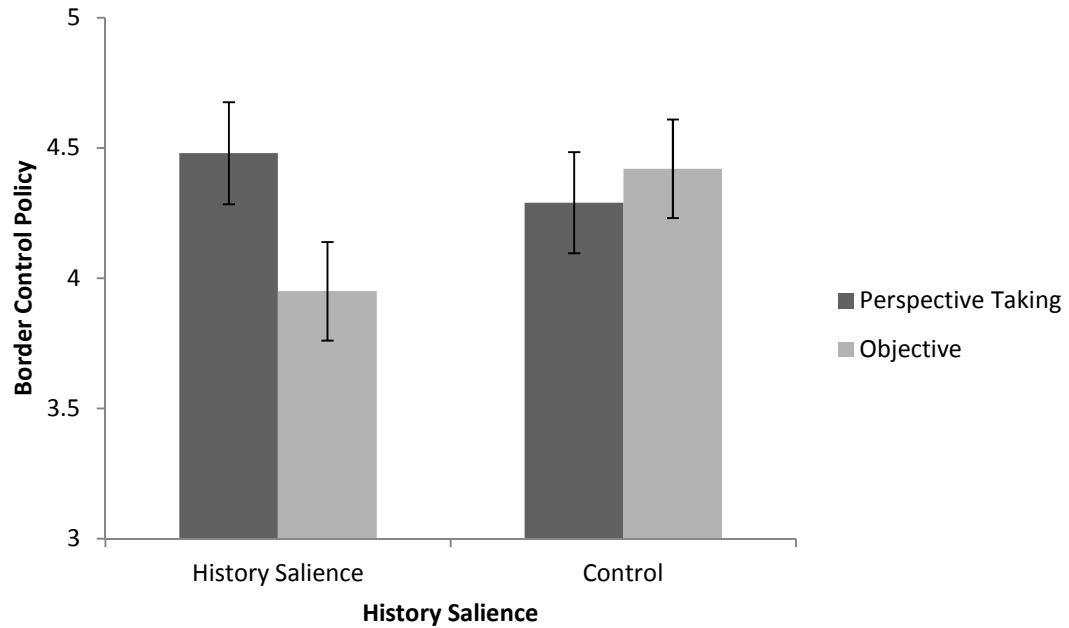




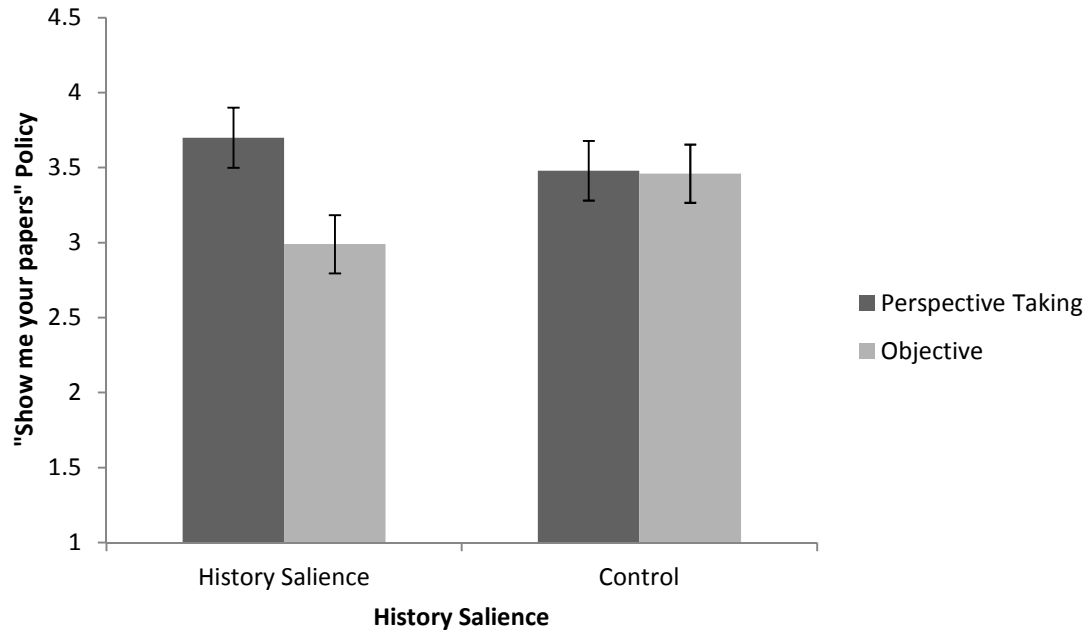
*Figure 3.* A marginal two-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking reveals that being primed with one's ingroup history and engaging in perspective-taking leads to more anxiety compared to participants who were similarly primed with their ingroup history but did not engage in perspective-taking. However, engaging in perspective-taking has no effect in the absence of an ingroup history prime.



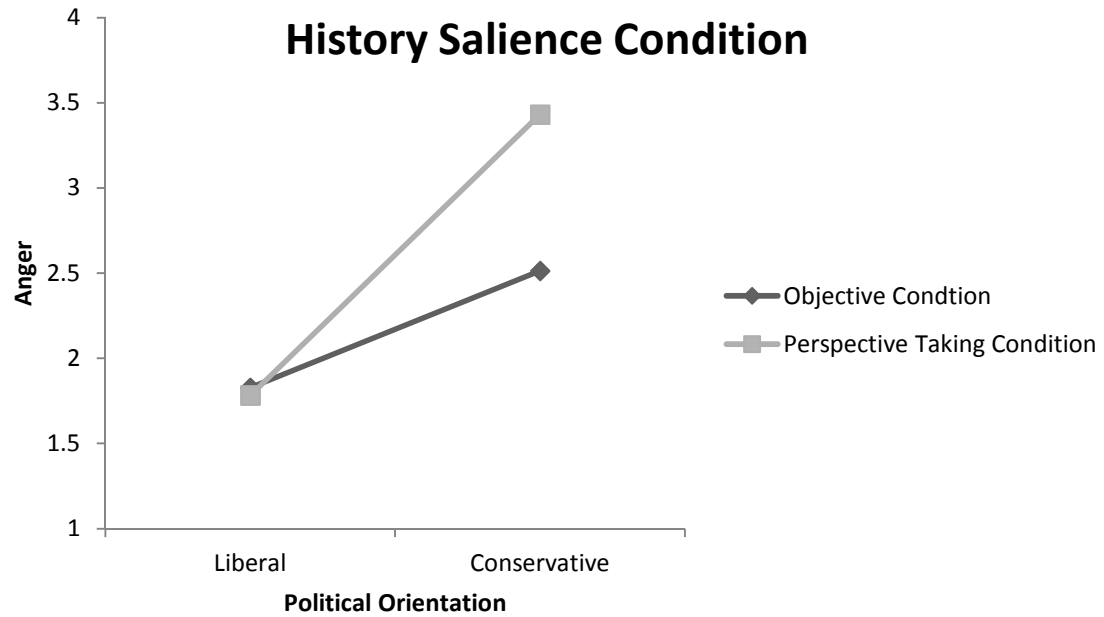
*Figure 4.* A marginal two-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking on the positive emotion of empathy reveals that being primed with one's ingroup history and engaging in perspective-taking leads to less empathy for illegal immigrants compared to participants who were similarly primed with their ingroup history but did not engage in perspective-taking. However, engaging in perspective-taking has no effect on empathy in the absence of an ingroup history prime.



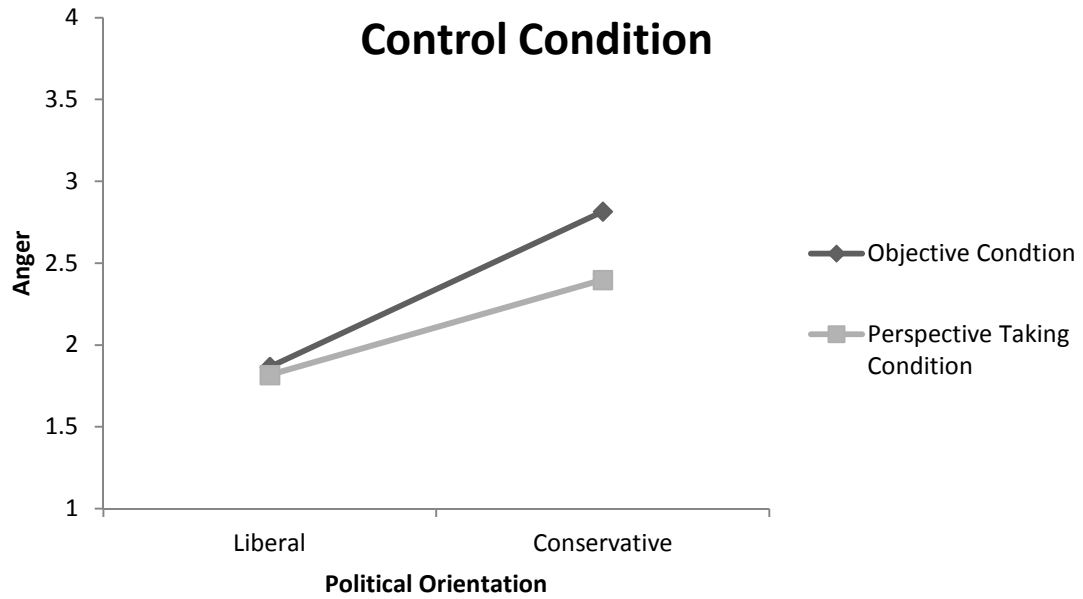
*Figure 5.* A marginal two-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking on support for increased border control reveals that being primed with one's ingroup history and engaging in perspective-taking leads to more support for this policy compared to participants who were similarly primed with their ingroup history but did not engage in perspective-taking. However, engaging in perspective-taking has no effect in the absence of an ingroup history prime.



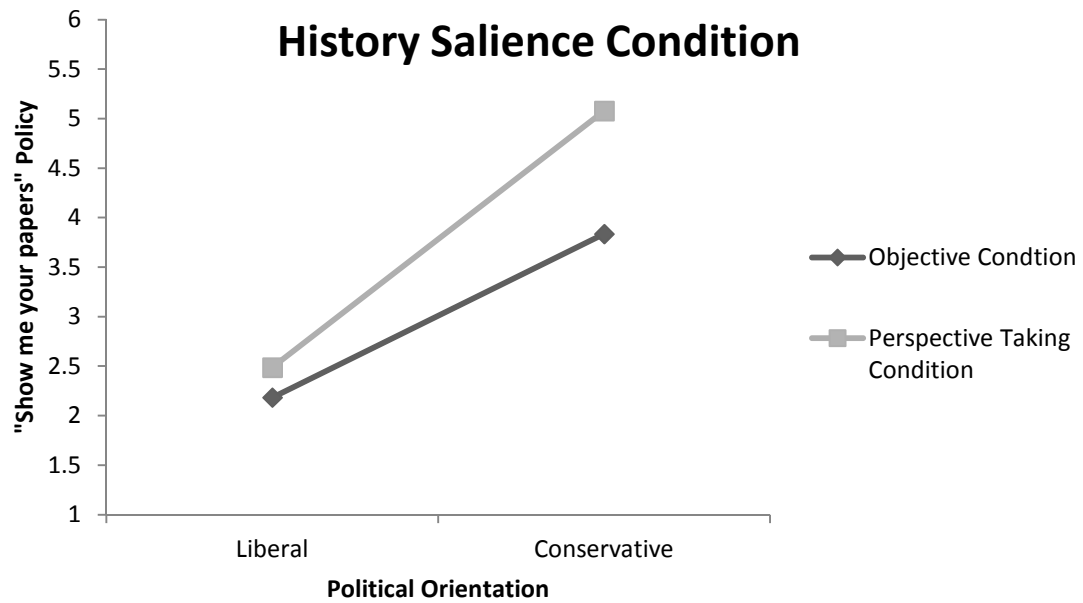
*Figure 6.* A marginal two-way interaction between history salience and perspective-taking on support for the “show me your papers” policy reveals that being primed with one’s ingroup history and engaging in perspective-taking leads to more support for this policy compared to participants who were similarly primed with their ingroup history but did not engage in perspective-taking. However, engaging in perspective-taking in the absence of an ingroup history prime has no effect on support for this policy.



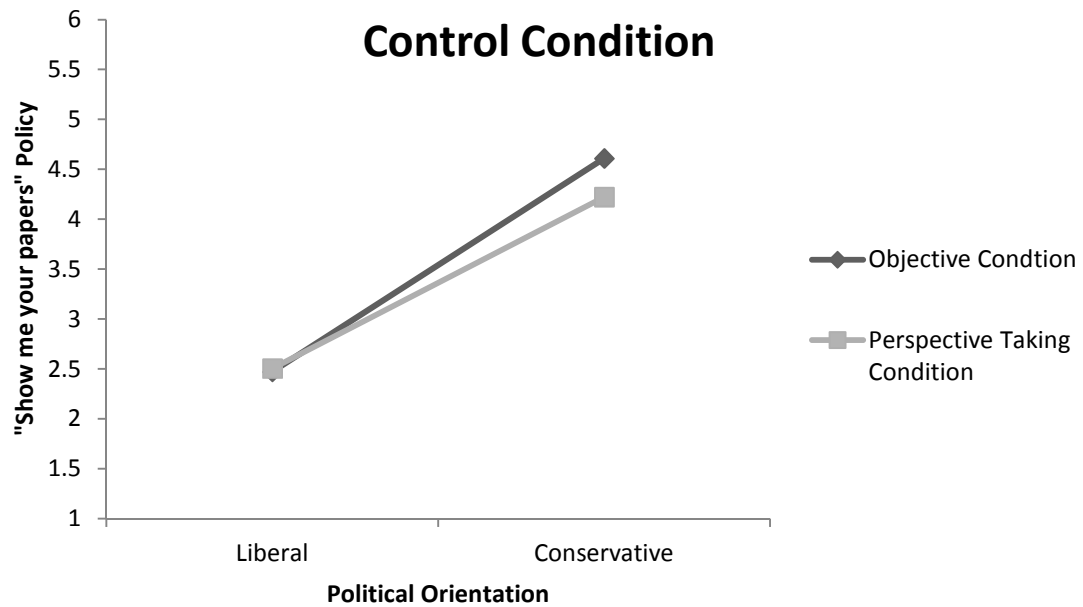
*Figure 7a.* A significant three-way interaction between history salience, perspective-taking, and political orientation shows that conservatives who were primed with their ingroup history show significantly more anger toward illegal immigrants when they engaged in perspective-taking than when they did not. However, liberals who were primed with their ingroup history show similarly low levels of anger regardless of whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking.



*Figure 7b.* A significant three-way interaction between history salience, perspective-taking, and political orientation shows that conservatives who were not primed with their ingroup history show marginally less anger toward illegal immigrants when they engaged in perspective-taking compared to when they did not. However, liberals who were not primed with their ingroup history show similarly low levels of anger whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking.

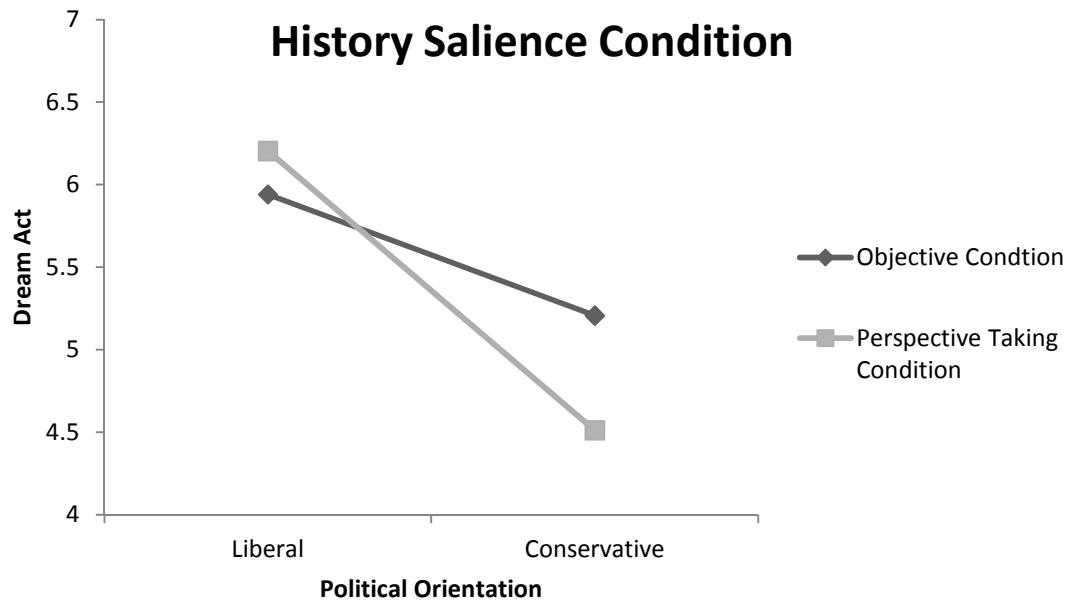


*Figure 8a.* A marginally significant three-way interaction between history salience, perspective-taking, and political orientation shows that conservatives who were primed with their ingroup history support the “show me your papers” policy more when they engaged in perspective-taking than when they did not. However, liberals who were primed with their ingroup history show similarly low levels of support regardless of whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking.

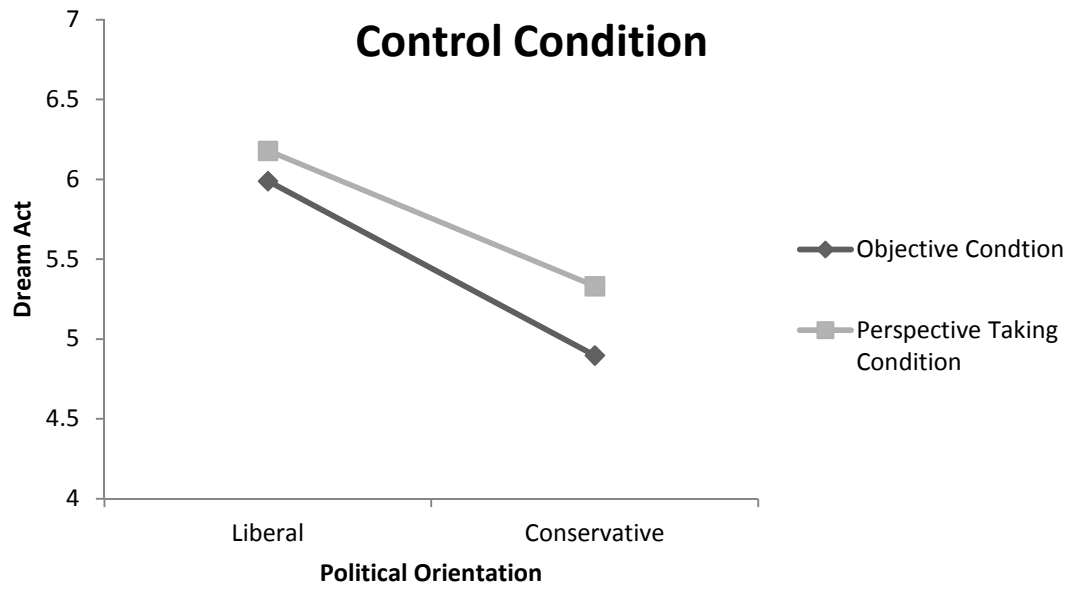


*Figure 8b.* A marginally significant three-way interaction between history salience, perspective-taking, and political orientation shows that conservatives who were not primed with their ingroup history have similar levels of support for this policy regardless of whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking. Additionally, liberals who were not primed with their ingroup history also show similarly low levels of support for this policy regardless of whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking.





*Figure 9a.* A significant three-way interaction between history salience, perspective-taking, and political orientation shows that conservatives who were primed with their ingroup history support the “DREAM act” less when they engaged in perspective-taking than when they did not. However, liberals who were primed with their ingroup history show similarly high levels of support regardless of whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking.



*Figure 9b.* A significant three-way interaction between history salience, perspective-taking, and political orientation shows that conservatives who were not primed with their ingroup history have similar levels of support for this policy regardless of whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking. Liberals who were not primed with their ingroup history also don't differ in their support for this policy as a function of whether or not they engaged in perspective-taking.

## APPENDIX A

### PRESCREEN SURVEY MATERIALS

Please indicate your Resident Status:

- 1) US Citizen
- 2) US Permanent Resident
- 3) Foreign Student Visa
- 4) Other Visa

Please indicate your Race or Ethnicity:

- 1) White American or Caucasian
- 2) African American or Black
- 3) Asian American or Asian
- 4) Hispanic-American or Latino
- 5) Native American or Pacific Islander
- 6) Other

If you selected "Other" please specify:

APPENDIX B  
CONSENT FORM

**RESEARCH CONSENT FORM**

Principal Investigator: Levi Adelman

Study Sponsor: Nilanjana Dasgupta

Title of Project: Creative Writing and National Attitudes.

**PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:**

You are invited to participate in a research study that involves a creative writing exercise and national attitudes.

**PROCEDURES:**

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to reflect on and write about two separate topics that will be presented to you. Following that, you will be asked about your attitudes on national issues. The survey will take about 30 minutes to complete.

**RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS:**

None of the experimental procedures will involve significant psychological risk or danger to participants. All of the experimental measures utilized in this study pose no threat.

**BENEFITS:**

It is possible that you may not benefit from participating in this study. However, at the end of the study, you will receive a “debriefing” explanation from the experimenter which will help explain some of the benefits of the study to society and the psychology field and this knowledge may help you as well.

**COMPENSATION:**

This survey should take about 30 minutes to complete, and you will receive one dollar (\$1.00) for your participation in this survey.

**CONFIDENTIALITY:**

To the best of our ability your answers in this study will remain confidential; however, as with any online related activity the risk of a breach is always possible. In order to minimize any risk of a breach of confidentiality, we will minimize any risks by linking your responses to a number. At the end of the study you will be asked to enter a completion number code, which will then be associated with all your responses. By identifying your responses with a number, your Mechanical Turk username will never be associated with your responses. Access to all data will be restricted to research staff. If the findings from this study are presented in public, they will only be reported in aggregate form; individual responses will not be presented.

**VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw consent or discontinue at any time. Additionally, you may skip any of the questions you do not wish to answer in this study.

**REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:**

If you have questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the researcher, Levi Adelman (413-455-6311; [ladelman@psych.umass.edu](mailto:ladelman@psych.umass.edu)), Professor Nilanjana Dasgupta (413-545-0049; [dasgupta@psych.umass.edu](mailto:dasgupta@psych.umass.edu)), or Professor Melinda Novak, Chair of the Psychology Department (413-545-2387; [mnovak@psych.umass.edu](mailto:mnovak@psych.umass.edu)). If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at (413) 545-3428 or [humansubjects@ora.umass.edu](mailto:humansubjects@ora.umass.edu).

By clicking Next, I affirm that I am at least 18 years of age, which is the minimum age to participate in this study. I also affirm that the purpose and nature of this research have been sufficiently explained, that I have read and understood this consent form, and I agree to participate in this research study. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without incurring any penalty, simply by closing this browser window. I understand that the survey and MTurk HIT must be completed in full in order to receive compensation. I also understand that I will be asked not to discuss this study with anyone who is considering participating. Please print a copy of this page for your records.

## APPENDIX C

### HISTORY SALIENCE MANIPULATIONS

#### INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY SALIENCE MANIPULATIONS:

You will now begin the writing portion which focuses on subjective writing. You will receive instructions regarding this task on the following pages.

Please continue to the next page to begin the subjective writing exercise.

#### HISTORY SALIENCE MANIPULATION:

Now you will complete a subjective writing exercise, where you will be asked to reflect on and write about a given topic.

Please take a moment to think and write about the history of your ethnic/racial group. For example, what is the history of your racial group (European American, African American, Asian Americans, etc.)? How did your people survive and make it through past generations to the modern day? Think about your group's recent past as well as its history from many generations ago. Once you have your group's story vividly in mind, please write about it from your perspective. You will have **FOUR MINUTES** to write until the survey automatically advances you to the next page. Don't worry about getting all the dates and details exactly right. We are interested in **YOUR** reflections about your group's history rather than historical accuracy.

When you are ready, continue to the next page.

#### CONTROL CONDITION MANIPULATION:

Now you will complete the subjective writing exercise, where you will be asked to reflect on and write about a given topic.

Please take a moment to think and write about the geography of your state or the state you are most familiar with. For example, how is the climate of your state? What is the landscape and natural environment like in your state? Once you have your state's geography vividly in mind, please write about it from your perspective. You will have **FOUR MINUTES** until the survey automatically advances you to the next page. Don't worry about getting all of the details exactly right. We are interested in **YOUR** reflections about your state's geography rather than factual accuracy.

When you are ready, continue to the next page.

## APPENDIX D

### PERSPECTIVE-TAKING MANIPULATIONS

#### INTRODUCTION TO PERSPECTIVE-TAKING MANIPULATIONS:

You will now begin the writing portion which focuses on creative writing. You will receive instructions regarding this task on the following pages.

Please continue to the next page to begin the creative writing exercise.

#### PERSPECTIVE-TAKING IMAGES:

You will now see a series of pictures of individuals who are illegal immigrants in the United States. Take a look at these pictures carefully and try to imagine their life. We will ask you more detailed questions in a moment.



#### PERSPECTIVE-TAKING CONDITION:



Now please look at the individual **circled in red. Imagine you are in this person's shoes and living his life. What would you feel like?** What would be your (and his) thoughts, motivations, and emotions as you made your way through life in the United States? What brought you (him) to the U.S.? **Try to imagine his experiences and mentally walk in his shoes.** Visualize your life as vividly as you can. Experience the emotions you would feel. When you feel you are ready, please move to the next page and write about your (his) experiences. You will have **FOUR MINUTES** to write until the survey automatically advances you to the next page.

OBJECTIVE CONDITION:



Now please look at the individual circled in red. **Take an objective approach and describe this person's life. Try to remain detached in your description.** Once you have an idea of what you are going to write, please move to the next page and write about him. Once there, you will have **FOUR MINUTES** to write until the survey automatically advances you to the next page.

PERSPECTIVE-TAKING MANIPULATION CHECK:

Can you understand the perspective of an illegal immigrant? 5-point scale (not at all – very much)

Can you imagine walking in the shoes of an illegal immigrant? 5-point scale (not at all – very much)

Can you imagine what it feels like to be an illegal immigrant? 5-point scale (not at all – very much)

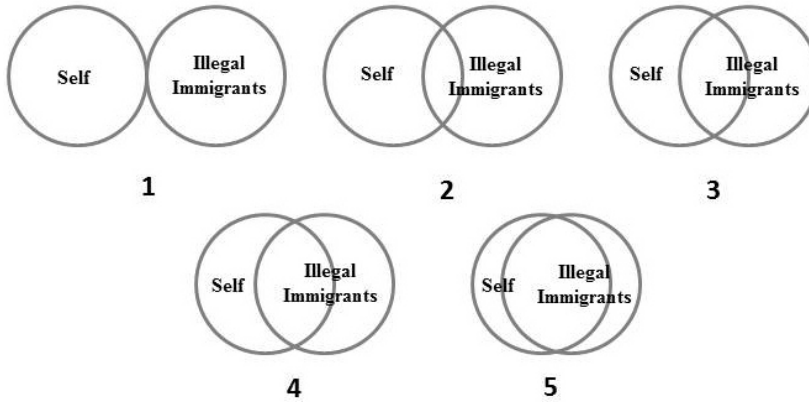


## APPENDIX E

### PERCEIVED SIMILARITY MEASURES

How similar are illegal immigrants to you? 5-point scale (not at all – very much)

How much do you have in common with illegal immigrants? (Venn Diagram: 1-5)



## APPENDIX F

### INTRODUCTION TO SECOND PART OF THE STUDY

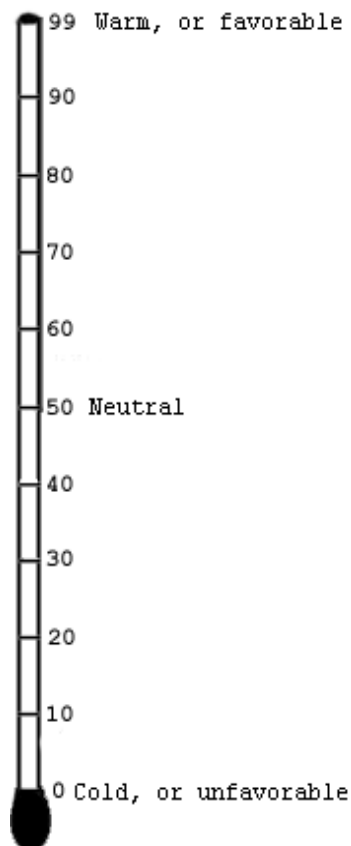
In the next part of this study we are interested in your thoughts and feelings about undocumented workers or illegal immigrants. There is no right or wrong answer. It is YOUR opinion that we are interested in.

## APPENDIX G

### FEELING THERMOMETERS

Please make a mark on the scale below to indicate how you feel about **ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS** in general. If you mark somewhere between **1° and 49°** that indicates you have **cold or unfavorable feelings** towards **ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS**. Marking **50°** means that you have **neutral feelings** and marking between **51° and 99°** means that you have **warm or favorable** feelings towards **ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS**.

Please make a mark on the scale below to indicate how you feel about **YOUR ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUP** (for example, European-Americans, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.) in general. If you mark somewhere between **1° and 49°** that indicates you have **cold or unfavorable feelings** towards **YOUR ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUP** (for example, European-Americans, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.). Marking **50°** means that you have **neutral feelings** and marking between **51° and 99°** means that you have **warm or favorable** feelings towards **YOUR ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUP** (for example, European-Americans, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).



## APPENDIX H

### EMOTION MEASURES

How ANGRY do undocumented or illegal immigrants make you feel?

How OUTRAGED do undocumented or illegal immigrants make you feel?

How ANNOYED do undocumented or illegal immigrants make you feel?

How much CONTEMPT do you have for undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How much do you DESPISE undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How much DISDAIN do you have for undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How DISGUSTED are you by undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How REPULSED are you by undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How GROSSED OUT are you by undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How much EMPATHY do you have for undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How much SYMPATHY do you have for undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How much COMPASSION do you have for undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How much UNDERSTANDING do you have for undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How much WARMTH do you have for undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How AFRAID are you of undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How SCARED are you of undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How FRIGHTENED are you of undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How ANXIOUS do undocumented or illegal immigrants make you feel?

How WORRIED are you about undocumented or illegal immigrants?

How DISTRESSED do undocumented or illegal immigrants make you feel?

How GUILTY do you feel about undocumented or illegal immigrants?

## APPENDIX I

### IMMIGRATION POLICY ITEMS

Below are summaries of several bills and referenda that local and national politicians are considering adding to ballots in upcoming local and national elections.

Using the scales, indicate how likely you are to vote in favor of, or against, the proposed legislation.

Proposition 2722 - “BORDER SECURITY ACT.” The aim of this legislation is to INCREASE border security by building fences and increasing naval and ground patrols along US borders.

Proposition 3928 – “HOSPITALIZATION DOCUMENTATION ACT” - The aim of this legislation is to PREVENT illegal immigrants from receiving medical care in American hospitals by requiring that documentation of legal status is presented before medical care is provided.

Proposition 9873 – “DREAM ACT”- The aim of this legislation is to offer illegal immigrants who fulfill certain requirements (e.g. serving in the military, completing a college degree, etc) a PATH TO CITIZENSHIP by providing them the ability to apply for legal status in the United States.

Proposition 5493 – “IMMIGRANT DOCUMENTATION ACT.” The aim of this legislation, also known as the “SHOW ME YOUR PAPERS” act, is to prevent illegal immigration by requiring all immigrants to carry immigration documentation with them and by giving police the power to detain anyone suspected of being in the country illegally.

Proposition 2545 – “IMMIGRANT ASSISTANCE ACT” – The aim of this legislation is to ensure that tax-supported institutions such as food stamps, education, and welfare DO **NOT** REFUSE to help people based on their immigration status. This act would provide food stamps, education, and welfare regardless of an individual’s immigration status.

## APPENDIX J

### STEREOTYPES AND REALISTIC AND SYMBOLIC THREATS

Please use the scales below to specify your beliefs about undocumented or illegal immigrants below. For each question there are two opposite descriptive words. Please select a point on the scale according to which one you believe better describes undocumented or illegal immigrants.

Hard Working/Lazy

Honest/Dishonest

Cares for Others/Selfish

Contributes to Society/Burden to Society

Courageous/Cowardly

Clean/Dirty

Healthy/Disease Ridden

Competent/Incompetent

Law Abiding/Criminal

Responsible/Irresponsible

#### REALISTIC THREAT:

To what extent do you think illegal immigrants are impacting crime in America?

To what extent do you think illegal immigrants are impacting job losses in America?

To what extent do you think illegal immigrants are impacting the availability of social services in America?

#### SYMBOLIC THREAT:

How do you think illegal immigrants are affecting American culture?

How do you think illegal immigrants are affecting American way of life?

How do you think illegal immigrants are affecting American moral values?

## APPENDIX K

### COMPETITIVE AND SHARED VICTIMHOOD

#### COMPETITIVE VICTIMHOOD:

Think about your ethnic/racial group's SUFFERING compared to other groups. Do you think that your group has suffered less than, as much as, or more than other groups? (1-5 scale, Less than, As much as, More than)

Think about your ethnic/racial group's experiences of HARDSHIP compared to other groups. Do you think that your group experienced less hardship, as much hardship, or more hardship than other groups? (1-5 scale, Less than, As much as, More than)

Think about how much your ethnic/racial group has been the TARGET OF PREJUDICE compared to other groups. Do you think that your group experienced less prejudice, as much prejudice, or more prejudice than other groups? (1-5 scale, Less than, As much as, More than)

Think about your ethnic/racial group was VICTIMIZED compared to other groups. Do you think that your group was less victimized, victimized as much, or more victimized, than other groups? (1-5 scale, Less than, As much as, More than)

#### SHARED VICTIMHOOD:

My group's experiences make me better able to empathize with the suffering of illegal immigrants.

My group's experiences make me better able to understand the perspective of illegal immigrants.

My group's experiences allow me to realize what it must feel like to be an illegal immigrant.

## APPENDIX L

### NATIONAL IDENTITY AND MEIM

#### NATIONAL IDENTITY: GLORIFICATION

America is better than other nations in all respects.

Relative to other nations, we are a very moral nation.

Compared to other nations, America is particularly good.

Other nations can learn a lot from us.

#### NATIONAL IDENTITY: ATTACHMENT

Belonging to this group is an important part of my identity.

It is important to me that I view myself as an American.

It is important to me that others see me as an American.

When I talk about the group members, I usually say “we” rather than “they.”

#### MEIM (MULTIGROUP ETHNIC IDENTITY MEASURE):

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be \_\_\_\_\_

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(1) Strongly agree    (2) Agree    (3) Disagree    (4) Strongly disagree

1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

2- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

3- I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

4- I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

5- I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

6- I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

7- I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

8- In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

9- I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

10- I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

11- I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

12- I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.



13- My ethnicity is

- (1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
- (2) Black or African American
- (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
- (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
- (5) American Indian/Native American
- (6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
- (7) Other (write in): \_\_\_\_\_

14- My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

15- My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

## APPENDIX M

### PERSONAL IMMIGRATION HISTORY AND DEMOGRAPHICS

#### PERSONAL IMMIGRATION HISTORY:

When you think about your ethnic group, how much do you see them as having a history of immigration in the US?

When you think about your family, how much do you see them as having a history of immigration in the US?

When you think of your ethnic group's immigration history, to what extent is that history similar to or different from the experiences of illegal immigrants?

Briefly list the ways in which you see your ethnic group's history or family history as being similar to or different from the experience of illegal immigrants:

#### HISTORY CHECK:

How often do you think about your ethnic group's history in the United States?

When you think about your ethnic group's history in the US, do you think more about their successes only, hardships only, or both equally?

#### DEMOGRAPHICS:

Please indicate your sex:

Please indicate your age:

Please indicate your Race:

Please indicate the US state that you currently live in (if you don't live in the US, please indicate the country that you live in):

How many years have you been speaking English?

Please indicate your immigration history by selecting all boxes that apply:

If you indicated above that you or your parents immigrated to the United States, please indicate which country or countries you or they immigrated from:

If you indicated above that you immigrated to the U.S., please indicate the age at which you immigrated:

Please select a point on the scale below to identify your political orientation.

Please select a point on the scale below to identify your political orientation on **social issues.**

Please select a point on the scale below to identify your political orientation on **economic issues.**

Please select a point on the scale below to identify your political orientation on **foreign policy issues.**

Please indicate the highest level of education that you have reached.

What is your current occupation?

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